

056005 T

JPRS 74800

20 December 1979

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 43



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

a 19
b 113
c A46

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available from Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

JPRS 74800

20 December 1979

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 43



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		1. REPORT NO. JPRS 74800	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
4. Title and Subtitle CHINA REPORT: POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 43			5. Report Date 20 December 1979	
7. Author(s)			6.	
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201			8. Performing Organization Rept. No.	
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address As above			10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	
			11. Contract(C) or Grant(G) No. (C) (G)	
15. Supplementary Notes			13. Type of Report & Period Covered	
			14.	
16. Abstract (Limit: 200 words) This serial report contains political, sociological and military information on China.				
17. Document Analysis a. Descriptors CHINA International Affairs Party and State Military and Public Security Sociological, Education and Culture				
b. Identifiers/Open Ended Terms				
c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15				
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22161			19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 109
			20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price

20 December 1979

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 43

CONTENTS	PAGE
PARTY AND STATE	
CYL Committee Upholds Principles, Authority of CYL Constitution (ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 27 Sep 79)	1
Party Official's Interference, by Liu Guanghui, Tao Tianjie Press Commentator's Rebuke	
Decision of Wasteland in Shaanxi Criticized (Jiang Shaogao; RENMIN RIBAO, 13 Nov 79)	5
Hong Kong Journal Discusses Fictional 'Year 2000' (Su Ming; CHENG MING, 1 Oct 79)	8
Hu Yaobang's Speech on Kang Sheng's Trial (PARIS-PEKING, Sep-Oct 79)	17
Publication of Short Story Evokes Opposing Views (Zhao Ke; TIANJIN RIBAO, 12 Sep 79)	27
Inner Mongolian League Holds Truth Criterion Forum (Xu Shiming, et al.; NEI MONGGOL RIBAO, 12 Oct 79) .	39
Correct Class Relationships Important for Farm Production (Zhang Guoqiang, Qian Qiaosheng; WEN HUI BAO, 13 Sep 79)	41
Editorial Claims Third Plenum Did Not Negate Mao Zedong Thought (Editorial; BEIJING RIBAO, 27 Sep 79)	44

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Nei Monggol Rehabilitates Former 5th Cavalry Division (NEI MONGGOL RIBAO, 5 Oct 79)	48
Obstructing Implementation of Policy on Private Plots Criticized (RENMIN RIBAO, 14 Oct 79)	51
Marx's Theory of 'Smashing the Bourgeois State Apparatus' Discussed (Ho Jinrui; LISHI YANJIU, 15 Sep 79)	54

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Guangdong Military District Party Committee Studies Ye Jianying Speech (Tu Bairong, Cao Shaoye; NANFANG RIBAO, 16 Oct 79)	62
'Ba Yi Radio' Cites Ideological Confusion Among PLA Units (Ba Yi Radio, 14 Nov 79)	65
Guangdong Military Participate in Summer Harvests (Deng Rongbin, Xiong Long Sheng; NANFANG RIBAO, 23 Jul 79)	67
Armedmen Honored on 'August 1' Army Day (Gao Qi, Jiang Bo; NANFANG RIBAO, 29 Jul 79).....	68
'Radio Ba Yi' Urges Self-Reliance in Modernizing Military Equipment (Ba Yi Radio, 18 Nov 79)	70
Hainan Holds Meetings of Public Security Bureau Chiefs (Hainan Island Service, 18 Nov 79)	72
Guangdong Civil and Air Defense Leading Group Convenes Conference (Huang Qinghuan; NANFANG RIBAO, 10 Oct 79)	74
Paintings Depict PRC Air Base, Missile Site (GUANGXI WENYI, No 7, 1979)	76
'MINZU HUABAO' Publishes Qilian Airfield Photo (MINZU HUABAO, No 8, 1979)	78

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

Briefs

Qinghai Military District Circular	80
Ordinance, Engine Association Rally	80

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'Democracy Box' Made Available for Plant Workers' Opinions (GONGREN RIBAO, 6 Oct 79)	81
---	----

Writers, Artists Exhorted To Liberate Thinking, Be More Creative (Qin Zhaoyang; GUANGMING RIBAO, 14 Nov 79)	83
---	----

'Syndicalism' Attacked as Opportunist Ideology (Editorial; Gong Wen; GONGREN RIBAO, 6 Oct 79)	90
---	----

Control of Population Growth Necessary To Accelerate Four Modernizations (Li Meilin; NANFANG RIBAO, 8 Oct 79)	93
---	----

Error of 'Large Population' Policy Analyzed (Chen Zhongli; GONGREN RIBAO, 4 Oct 79)	98
--	----

Party's Policy Toward Exploiters Is Correct (Xuan Zhe; ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO, 8 Sep 79)	101
--	-----

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

'RENMIN RIBAO' Notes Aid to Minority Nationalities (XINHUA, 15 Nov 79)	106
---	-----

PARTY AND STATE

CYL COMMITTEE UPHOLDS PRINCIPLES, AUTHORITY OF CYL CONSTITUTION

Party Official's Interference

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 27 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by Liu Guanghui [0497 0342 6540] and Tao Tianjie [7118 3944 7132]]

[Text] The CYL Committee of Meicheng Commune, Anhua County, Hunan Province, and the CYL general branch of Meicheng School upheld principles in handling matters according to the CYL constitution and stood up against the violent interference imposed by the chairman of the commune's revolutionary committee. They protected the just rights of CYL organizations by approving the application for CYL membership of Zhao Hong [6392 4767], an outstanding student who had met CYL member requirements.

On 2 May, the CYL branch of Meicheng School approved senior high 5th grader Zhao Hong's admission to the CYL after a membership discussion, and then submitted the matter to the commune committee for examination and approval. But Zhao Hong's admission was blocked by Comrade Que Guochao [7067 0948 6389], chairman of the revolutionary committee and vice secretary of the commune party committee.

The fact was that Que Guochao's youngest daughter, a CYL member, was Zhao Hong's classmate. Her schoolwork was poor but, having a superiority complex, she often told her fellow students, "From now on, whoever wishes to join the CYL and participate in its work, all he needs is a word from my father." She was jealous of Zhao Hong's good schoolwork. During the process of discussion on Zhao Hong's application, Que's daughter solicited several fellow students, accusing Zhao Hong of having "three problems." These were, "sowed dissension among fellow students, did not unite with fellow students, and cheated in an examination." She used this as a pretext to oppose Zhao Hong's admission. Que Guochao, taking his daughter's word without investigation, told Li Jitang [2621 0679 1016], responsible person of the CYL committee, "You should not approve Zhao Hong's admission."

Li Jitang went to the school to investigate. After he had learned the facts, he felt Zhao Hong's admission should be approved. On the evening of 3 May the commune CYL committee held a meeting on membership examination and approval. Que Guochao came to the meeting on his own initiative. In front of the responsible personnel of the CYL general branch of the school, Que Guochao opposed the approval of Zhao Hong's admission, based on his daughter's accusations. Furthermore, he brought his daughter and two other students who were opposed to Zhao Hong's admission to the meeting to "testify." The meeting, called in order to examine several other students' application for admission to CYL, had to temporarily postpone Zhao Hong's admission.

The CYL committee of the commune made a report on this problem to other leading members of the commune party committee and asked that this problem be solved. Que Guochao became very angry after learning this. He even said, "I have the authority to approve party membership; why don't I have authority to approve CYL membership?" He also said, "The CYL committee should obey the party committee's leadership. Whatever a party committee member says counts."

After asking Comrade Shao Binggang [6730 4426 0474], secretary of the party committee of the commune, for instructions, four CYL committee members were assembled to once again carry out a thorough investigation into Zhao Hong's performance. Results of the investigation showed that Que Guochao's daughter's accusations were groundless. Zhao Hong did have the qualifications to be admitted to the CYL. Supported by the party committee secretary, the commune CYL committee held another meeting on 10 July to study Zhao Hong's admission to the CYL. Learning this, Que Guochao again rushed to the meeting and told the CYL comrades, "You have not informed me of Zhao Hong's investigation...Zhao Hong's admission should be disqualified." The meeting was adjourned. The CYL committee reported the matter to the county CYL committee. The county CYL committee pointed out that if the commune CYL committee had unanimously approved Zhao Hong's qualification, the committee should adhere to principles and grant her admission. On the same evening, the commune CYL committee granted Zhao Hong admission to the CYL and sent out a "Notification of Admission." But the notification was retrieved by Que Guochao.

Regarding this matter, the secretaries of the Meicheng Commune Party committee and the Meicheng District Party Committee talked with Que Guochao at different times. But he stubbornly stuck to his opinions. Under these circumstances, the commune party committee considered Que Guochao's behavior wrong. Finally, on 3 August the CYL Committee of Meicheng Commune sent out notification of Zhao Hong's admission to the CYL.

Press Commentator's Rebuke

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 27 Sep 79 p 1

[Article by ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO Commentator]

[Text] Does the chairman of a commune have the authority to approve membership in the Communist Youth League? The answer is very clear: No. However, Que Guochao [7067 0948 6389], chairman of the Meicheng Commune Revolutionary Committee of Anhua County, Hunan Province, failed to comply. He violated the CYL constitution, and irrationally and brutally interfered in the commune CYL committee's legal authority of examination and approval. Moreover, he speciously argued; "I even have the authority to approve party membership; why don't I have authority to approve CYL membership?" His daughter once said, "Whoever wishes to join the CYL and participate in its work, all he needs is my father's word." This kind of thought is not uncommon in real life.

Some cadres feel self-important as soon as they have some authority of office. They confuse themselves with the party leadership. Whatever they say, they want others to listen. This is an unhealthy tendency which should be eradicated. The party constitution stipulates that no individual should have the authority to approve party membership. Similarly, the CYL constitution directs that admission of new members has to go through a discussion in branch meetings for concurrence and then be submitted to the next higher committee for final approval. How can some individual's "word" approve membership? The CYL constitution was enacted by the national assembly of the CYL, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee. It is the CYL's laws and regulations that serve as guidance for every level of party organizations to provide leadership in the work of CYL. Who has given this commune chairman authority to ignore the power of the CYL constitution?

"Counterrevolutionary" was a political label threatening numerous CYL cadres. Que Guochao's interference took place under the pretext that "CYL committees should receive guidance from party committees." Without doubt the CYL should obey the party leadership. But in a socialist country, every organization has its own function, authority, and responsibility. This is not just an ornament. Correct and effective leadership provided for CYL organizations by the party committee insures that the CYL will work with vigor and give full play to the CYL constitution. If one makes arbitrary decisions and acts as he pleases, under the pretext of "what a party committee member says counts," regardless of whether what he says is correct or incorrect, this is not providing party leadership. On the contrary, it is trampling on the party's principles. The party committee of Meicheng Commune corrected Que Guochao's errors and supported the correct decision made by the commune's CYL committee. This reflects the party's genuine concern. This is correct leadership.

In the process of approving Zhao Hong's [6392 4767] admission to the CYL, the CYL committee of Meicheng Commune adhered to principles and resolutely upheld the regulations stipulated in the CYL constitution. It was thoroughly correct. Under the party leadership, CYL should work progressively, voluntarily, independently, and dutifully. It should resolutely safeguard the interests of CYL members and the youths it represents, and it should positively solve the urgent problems of their daily lives. It should dare to speak up for the youths, exposing and criticizing the unhealthy phenomena that infringe upon the youths' interests, suppress democracy, and ruin the youths' mental and physical health. Only by so doing can one unite CYL members and the youths around him, devote himself to the Four Modernizations, and really shoulder the glorious task given to him by the party.

8953

CS0: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

DECISION ON WASTELAND IN SHAANXI CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 79 p 2

[Letter from reporter Jiang Shaogao [3068 4801 7559], "Why 'Ban' a Good Thing Helpful to Peasants?"]

[Text] Wasteland occupies a large area of our country's three northern regions (the northwest, north China and the northeast). If certain tracts would be allotted to commune members to plant fuel forests, it could solve their fuel and timber problems for many years and also promote afforestation of these wastelands, good work that would be very much welcomed by the masses. It is a pity that such good work is "illegal" in Shaanxi. In October this reporter visited Shaanxi for an inspection of villages. When I discussed this matter with cadres and commune members, many complained that since the mentality of the higher-ups remained unemancipated, the lower levels were unable to do anything about it. I ascertained in more detail that in the first months of this year those in charge in the provincial administration had issued an order prohibiting the past practice of allotting wasteland to commune members for the planting of fuel forests. This order was not rescinded up to the time this reporter left Shaanxi.

The 10 counties in the Yen'an-Yulin sector on the borders of the Maowusu desert are a vast and thinly populated area with little vegetation. Speeding along by car for thousands of li, nothing but vast stretches of wasteland spread before the eye. The farmers that live here, surrounded by these wastelands, are mostly suffering great hardships. There is a singular shortage of firewood and most farmers depend on dung for fuel for cooking and heating. It would be too costly in energy and money to buy and bring in coal from somewhere far away.

Implementing the spirit of the Third Plenum of the [11th] CCP Central Committee and carrying into practice our economic policy in agriculture, the local party committees in Yen'an and Yulin concerned themselves with the firewood and timber shortage in these areas and, basing on public demand and the experiences of various communes, agreed to allot appropriate wasteland to commune members to plant fuel forests. Some county

communes very quickly carried out these measures at the household level. As soon as wasteland was allotted to them, in many cases already on the second and third day, commune members planted willows, "ning-tiao" [Caragana Korshinkii] and poplar trees.

Just at the time when the commune members were very happily planting and caring for their trees, one prohibitory order after the other arrived. Some leading cadres in the provincial administration questioned the Yen'an party committee: Why is planting done by individuals and not collectively? Why should Yen'an take an interest in this kind of thing? Some leading cadres criticized Yulin: This is performing work individually, it will promote capitalism, don't work that way! Even though this criticism seems ideologically incomprehensible, the local party committees had to follow orders and to instruct those under their directions to stop allotting wasteland to commune members for planting fuel forests. The commune members objected, saying: "Let those big shots, who tell us to stop, drive donkeys and haul charcoal just as we are doing, they will then understand why farmers want a little wasteland to grow fuel forests."

Will allotting wasteland to commune members to grow fuel forests possibly promote capitalism? This reporter investigated this question a little further. Prior to the cultural revolution, there had been allotments to commune members for fuel forests, based on party policy and general public demand, but later in the cultural revolution the practice was criticized and in many places the fuel forests were confiscated. However, there have been some communes which resisted the interferences from all quarters and kept intact whatever odd trees had been grown on private mountain plots or around houses. In 1964 the Jinchang commune in Zhidan County, with a population of over 1,530 families and of over 9,400 persons, allotted private mountain plots for firewood. These plots have become forest land of over 7,100 mu. Each family will have an average of 4.6 mu; 45 percent of the peasant families in the commune are now basically self-sufficient in fuel; 37 percent of the peasant families can solve over half of their annual fuel problem. Wang Shusheng [3769 2885 0581], leader of the Yujiwan production team, Jintang production brigade of the Jinchang commune has for the last 10 years insisted on growing trees and forests. They have now a 10-mu forest with over 2,000 trees, grown into useful timber. In spring and summer there are flowers and fruits all over the mountain of the production team, and there is luxurious growth all around the houses. There is no further shortage of wood for fuel or timber. They say: "This is a good solution for our fuel problem." There have been similar cases in Yulin County. The Majiatu production team of the Balasu commune in that county, consisting of 82 families, live in a desert region. Prior to 1958 there were few trees there, even kindling wood the commune members found hard to get. After 1958 they decided to grow trees collectively. Because the commune members had no other source of firewood and no branches for cattle pens, for twig fences or to weave baskets, as the collective was planting, the commune members at the same time were

cutting, so that after several years of afforestation not many trees were left. In 1966 this production brigade allotted wasteland around the houses to commune members to plant fuel forests. From then on the collective forest was much better taken care of. Prior to 1966, the brigade produced a maximum of not more than 60,000 kilograms of grain, now the grain production has reached 250,000 kilo and the collective has 50,000 mu of forest. Every year the collective distributes one portion of willow twigs, and together with the branches from the trees grown on their private plots, the commune members have basically solved their fuel problem. Many families can even save up to 1,000 to 2,000 kilo of dry willow twigs in the course of one year. At the same time they also solved the problem of wood and twigs that commune members ordinarily need for house construction, twig fences, cattle pens and basket weaving.

Practical experience has proven, allotting wasteland to commune members to grow fuel forests in areas with a dearth of firewood not only is of no harm to the collective economy or conducive to the growth of capitalism, but on the contrary promotes collective afforestation and the development of agricultural production. Concern about contributing to the growth of capitalism does not show any solicitude for the weal and woe of the masses. Many commune members say: If all wasteland is distributed to all of us to grow fuel forests, we could remedy our shortage of firewood. The leading cadres in the various localities and counties of these two regions are preparing further reports to the higher authorities and will request them for new instructions, urging an early revocation of the mentioned order, so that measures for wasteland allocation can be carried out.

8453

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HONG KONG JOURNAL DISCUSSES FICTIONAL 'YEAR 2000'

HK070521 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 24, 1 Oct 79 pp 38-41

[Article by Su Ming [5685 2494]: "On 'Possible Tragedy in the Year 2000'"]

[Text] This book deals with another change brought about by some people in China in the year 2000. The "gang of four" are rehabilitated.... A dangerous situation is envisioned in a bold hypothesis. This is not unlikely in light of what has happened with every change in the past and the defects of our system. The work also tells about the experiences and viewpoints of a big-character poster writer in the envisioned confusion of tomorrow. These viewpoints are widely held among ordinary Chinese today.

One day toward the end of 1998, the normal program of the Central People's Broadcasting Station is interrupted by a veteran announcer who in his familiar but especially poignant voice that day announces a piece of anxiously awaited news:

A certain comrade, a leader of the Chinese party and state who was loved by the country's 1.5 billion people and respected by people throughout the world has succumbed to illness in Beijing at 0213 today:

Compared to similar obituary notices since China entered the 1990's, this has come as the biggest shock.

More obituary notices follow in the succeeding year. Several leaders die of illnesses. Careful observers notice a lack of the usual information about the causes of death. Several leaders have been victims of car accidents. Two high-level responsible cadres have been air crash victims, with the body of one never found.

There are few remaining leaders of the older generation. The surviving ones are also retiring one by one.

On 1 December 1999, all leading newspapers throughout the country carry a short communique on their front pages--the communique of the 5th plenum of the 17th CCP Central Committee. Its main object is to call on the Central

Commission for Inspecting Discipline to form a special investigation organ, together with the Supreme People's Procuratorate, the Supreme People's Court and the Public Security Department. The investigation organ which is under the control of a vice chairman is to investigate a major incident involving the death of several leaders of the Party Central Committee.

On 5 December, initial findings about "a counterrevolutionary group conspiring to split the motherland" are announced. The leading members of several important departments of the state are involved.

On 7 December, more information about the case is made known. Nine leading provincial leaders are involved.

On 9 December, there is a breakthrough in the case. The main head of the group is a certain leader of the Party Central Committee who has a significant international background.

It is held abroad that the so-called "international background" undoubtedly refers to the United States. The NEW YORK TIMES carries an article by columnist Dick entitled "With the Disappearance of a Great Figure, China Has Again Sunk into the Depths of Mystery."

On 11 December, the Party Central Committee plenum announces a reorganization of the political bureau and the Party Central Committee. All persons involved in the case must be temporarily suspended, and some new members are admitted. It is claimed that such steps are not without precedent and are to be approved at the next party congress.

On 19 December, it is revealed that members of the "Group Plotting of Rebellion" have been found in the judicial departments and even among the several leading officials in charge of this case. The Party Central Committee decides to reorganize the joint investigation organ. One of the responsible persons of the organ is placed under arrest.

On 20 December, criminal evidence against a "Counterrevolutionary Group Conspiring To Split the Motherland" is announced in an overall and systematic manner. Most exasperating is that this group opposes that certain leading Comrade long held in respect, who died last year, and uses most words indistinct language to attack Chairman Mao, founder of state, and the great cultural revolution.

[HK070527] Newspapers and magazines and broadcasting stations release a series of articles expressing determination to rally around the new Party Central Committee and smash all reactionary forces, party and government organizations at all levels and also call various accusation meetings.

The year 2000 at last comes. Over 20 years earlier, people [words illegible] year that would be marked by celebrations by all countries in the world and with still more fervent celebrations in China. But now the immediate task

is to end the campaign in the basic levels to destroy the social foundation of the "group plotting a rebellion." In all areas of the superstructure and on the economic front, major reforms are to be completed. A high degree of centralism must be exercised by the Party Central Committee; the power diffused among various areas and enterprises must be retracted. The aim is to thoroughly remove all possible causes of a split.

Investigation and reform activities proceed smoothly. In September, the Chinese Communist Party calls the 18th National Party Congress.

After a long period spent preparing public opinion, the plenum of the Party Central Committee officially proposes that the wrong line this has been followed over the past 20 years should be criticized as should that certain leader, who had been in charge of communist work for as long as 20 years and wangled the trust of the masses of people. Likewise, the bourgeois headquarters within the party headed by him should also be criticized.

During this year, several hundred posthumous rehabilitation meetings and ceremonies for depositing the ashes of the dead have been successively held in a newly built funeral parlor in Babaoshan, a structure with three floors above and five below ground. On 1 October, a solemn ceremony marking the 51st anniversary of the founding of the state is held. The new leading group of the Party Central Committee ascend the rostrum of Tiananmen and review a parade of 5 million people. The chief leaders make important speeches;

Resolutely wipe out the bourgeoisie within the party and guard against a repetition of the tragedy of 22 years ago;

Carry the current reform movement through to the end and achieve centralized leadership;

Thoroughly get rid of the influence of decadent western capitalism in all ideological areas; the proletariat must occupy all fronts;

Freeze wages, stress people's ideological revolutionization, restrict and disrupt bourgeois rights, and solve the problem of the wide gap between the rich and the poor;

Get rid of foreign capital, strictly control foreign relations and follow a revolutionary diplomatic line of self-reliance.

Strengthen public security organs, promote dictatorship by the public and exercise overall dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in all areas.

Parades then begin.

Young people cheer and jump for joy, taking pride in the weighty mission with which this generation is charged by history.

Those people over 45 once again feel puzzled by the changes in the domestic situation in one year.

On 2 October, a big-character poster appears on Xidan's Democracy Wall bristling with fluttering bunting. It is "a big-character poster put up here over 22 years ago" signed by Yu Ji. It causes a big commotion.

The text of the big-character poster reads as follows:

"Last month (November 1978), the Japanese friends raised in unanswered question to the relevant quarters in China. Vice Premier Deng's speech (on relations with Japan) is a very good one. But is there likely to be a change next year? The political situation in China changes all the time. Newly made law is likely to be scrapped a year later.

"China is a big country with a vast population. Progress in economic development and in improving the people's life has been slow. But the political situation has been changing so fast that any modernized country would be bewildered.

"Such a phenomenon is common knowledge. Only our propaganda machine and orthodox ideas have played dumb.

"'Why?'

"This is because in a country practicing a high degree of centralism, a state's safety depends on a single person, and the destiny of 900 million people is held in the hands of a few. Control over political, economic, legal and other matters is monopolized by centralized leadership. As a result, the eating, drinking, toilet and sleeping habits of 900 million people, their emotions such as joy, anger, sorrow and delight, and their every act and every move are influenced by the physiological changes in these few people, their habits and preferences, their mental state and their ideological leanings. Thus, everything changes when an individual is removed from the scene, and the laws of a generation change with an individual's death.

"Every time these several hundred persons, these several tens of persons, or these few persons are fighting hard above, 900 million people watch with bated breath below. If a good man wins, this is cause for national jubilation. He is a symbol of hope. But the destiny of 900 million people is so uncertain. If this man has so much as a cold, the whole nation trembles with fear. If something should happen, all would grieve. They do not know what their future will be and who will hold their destiny.

"Why should we who are born Chinese have such a fate? We are human beings, We are in the 1970's of the 20th century:

"Comrade Deng Xiaoping suggests..."

Here the last part of the big-character poster has been torn down. Two hours have passed since the appearance of the poster. Half an hour later, only the headline remains.

Correspondent Antony of the Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL who has photographed the whole text of the big-character poster sends an immediate telegram to his headquarters six hours later, he is declared persona non grata and expelled. Several hundred persons who have read the big-character poster spread the news.

[HK070538] On 13 October, the customs office seizes all the copies of that day's Toronto GLOBE AND MAIL. The Canadian Ministry of Foreign Affairs summons the Chinese ambassador to protest China's breach of the cultural exchange agreement.

Various other foreign language newspapers which carry different parts of the big-character poster are withdrawn from newsstands. Before 0900, all foreign language newspapers are sold out.

At around 1700 on 5 October, the author of the big-character poster appears in public. Standing on two bricks, he begins to lecture on his big-character poster. In less than 10 minutes, he has drawn an audience of several thousand people. The traffic lane under the Xidan overhead expressway is blocked by the milling crowd.

Someone sets up a cry but is immediately shouted down by everyone. Because of the great multitude of people, plainclothes policemen can do nothing. Someone passes an amplifier to the speaker, who takes it and continues to speak.

At this time, in a room several miles away, a small radio receiver is working. Several important figures seated on comfortable Swedish sofas are listening.

"...Comrade Deng Xiaoping advocates relegating economic power to the lower levels and improving the legal system, so that more people can participate in management and come near to the goal of wielding power. This is a step forward.

"But it should be noted that these reform measures can be as easily abandoned as they are advocated. At a certain time they may be repudiated in the same fashion as they are imposed, since the one in that position has the power to dictate them, he certainly has the right to abolish them. The

one who decides to do this or that may be the same person or a totally different person."

At 1500 on 5 December, the writer is arrested in his home on the 47th floor of building No. 54 situated in the "green-colored" residential area in Xijiekou.

On 26 December, the court is forced to hear the case under the great pressure of public opinion. Standing in the dock, the writer makes an impassioned speech, as he recounts the last part of the big-character poster:

"So-called power of supervision is unlike anything that has been preached before. In the past, people who had an idea to put forward had to ask a bureaucrat in a pleading tone to give it so much as a glance. The latter then went through the motions of leafing through sheets of paper expounding the idea. He always casually rejected what might have been the product of several years or several tens of years of work. Whatever he found to his taste was allowed to be published, just to keep up appearances, by power of supervision, we now mean the power enabling the people to be really their own masters. To put it more clearly, this is not the power to be a master's servants, but the power at least to be the equals of state leaders and even a power exceeding that of the latter as masters.

"Such power should cover political, economic, legal and other matters. The people's rights, such as the right to vote, the right to personal freedom and the right of propaganda, which so far have been overlooked, must especially be included. Ideological changes in people will surely come with a series of major reforms in state policies. These democratic demands are justified and will sooner or later become so keen as to compell attention.

"The right to vote--this is an important issue, as everyone knows. Thus, the mass media of the party and state have devoted the greatest part of their articles to this subject. It should be a very simple thing for people to write on their voting ticket the name of the one they support the most. There is just no need for repeated efforts toward enlightenment. But given the propaganda of the enthusiasts, which is simple has become complicated. The people's ability to give proper expression to their own wishes is even doubted. Thus, the system of fixing jobs by the higher levels and the system of lifelong tenure of office have been carried out. This dates back to the founding of the state and has become an accepted part of life. However, the people have never given up such a demand. They will be no less persistent in their demand 100 years from now--a demand which will never dim with the passage of time. This demand is not something that has been produced by that "class enemy" or "bad element" to oppose the party and state. Without the influence of the older generation, any generation will spontaneously raise this problem.

This is a matter of life and death to the one in power. It also bears on the lives of hundreds of millions of people. As long as this problem is not solved, the people will persist in raising it from generation to generation. Perhaps, some people want to capitalize on this problem to promote their own cause. But it is the people who benefit most. If they should let others take advantage of the present chance, why should they not avail themselves of it to put the house in order? If someone suggests giving up altogether because of previous unpleasant experiences, then we must have been either mad or promoted by ulterior motives.

The right of propaganda--I want to say more about this. Its importance is generally acknowledged. The ruler knows this better than the people. I do not mean that the people have a less keen perception. The point I want to make is that the people are more sober-minded than their leaders. They know that like refrigerators and cars, this right is too much of a luxury for them and too much of a goal to dream of. The right of propaganda has been the object of contest among rulers. The people are barred from participation. The contestants consider it better to keep the people out of the game. We do not profess to know the reasons why. This is something understood. Anyone in that kind of position will understand its implied meaning.

[HK070543] "We can never belittle the right of propaganda. Of course, the ruler is unlikely to do so. The point I want to make is that the people themselves must not make light of this right. If the people have a way of expressing what they really think, then to seize hold of such a powerful weapon as the mass media is to really control their inclinations. No one on earth has ever succeeded by treating the common wishes of the people lightly;

"I am not recommending any panacea. I just think that like air and food, these rights are indispensable daily necessities to the people. To raise the people's standard of living, we should naturally take these rights into account. Would the people tolerate anyone who makes them fight all the time to keep the wolf from the door?

"If you trust that your own cause has mass support, then you may as well adopt these measures. They may be the only counterforce to a despotic or hidden enemy. Instead of providing safeguards for the life or success of a few individuals, they provide safeguards for the everlasting life of hundreds of millions of people. Those rulers seeking to practice despotism have always been afraid of such a force, withholding knowledge from it and scattering and strangling it. Why should a socialist country be afraid of it too? Why should a socialist country be even more afraid of it than feudal emperors?

"History is independent of human will. When you obey its call, you may be the hero. When you go against it, you may become a degenerate. If you are in doubt, just look at the past! You may now profit from past

experiences. If you wait until after you leave this world, it will be too late and you will be notoriously known in history for something unpardonable. Assessment 30 years from now is merciless. But a great figure always has a place in history. The reasons must be borne in mind!"

So ends the "big-character poster put up here 22 years ago."

In the last day of the year 2000, the writer is regarded as a member of "the counterrevolutionary group conspiring to split the motherland" and is sentenced to life imprisonment. He is the first and the last of this group convicted. Foreign press reports say that there is another disagreement among the Chinese communist leaders. The "case" may be dropped. But nothing is said about the writer. If he really belongs to a certain group, then his turn to reassert himself will at last come.

In June, 2001, a U.S. publisher reaps a fat profit from a bestseller. Entitled "Crush an Ant to Death Underfoot," it is written by Yu Ji. Its preface tells about all that has been experienced in smuggling the manuscript out of the concentration camp where those holding different political views are held in heavily guarded China.

In September the same year, a criminal falls from a cliff in a quarry or camp west of Shijiazhuang where criminals are sent to be reformed through labor. The night before, this criminal lies down on his hard wooden bed repeatedly trying to memorize five English words he is to read out first thing the next morning. As he lapses into tired sleep with a heavy heart, a solemn-looking national security worker opens his files. With a red pencil, he circles his name or alias--Yu Ji--and then wrote down the words: "Cause of death--fall from a cliff."

On 1 October, amid national day celebrations and broadcasts, a slender middle-aged woman empties a plastic bag of petroleum on her body and immolates herself in front of the Kidan Democracy Wall. A young girl looking very much like the writer of the big-character poster has in tow a young boy with big eyes like those of the woman who has made a torch of herself. While sobbing, they pass around small pieces of paper, one by one, to those pedestrians stopping to comfort them. In a scrawly hand are written the words: "Papa and mama have died for democracy, we are here to live for democracy."

When policemen begin to notice the two children, they disappear, no one wants to reveal their whereabouts. Even without their respectable and honorable parents, they are touching with their appealing faces.

At 1800 the same day, two poems written in classical style appear on democracy wall. It is the same two pieces that appeared on the wall at the end of the 1970's. According to the person who copied them, these were that woman's early works.

A poem inspired by the "song of ascending the Youzhou Terrace" by Chen Zi-ang of the Tang Dynasty:

"No freedom ahead,
As we peer into the future,
No freedom behind us,
As we look back.
Tears brim in our eyes,
As we think of time
That has no beginning or end."

A poem inspired by the "Chi Le Song" of the South and North Dynasties:

"A democracy wall lies where Kidan is,
The sky arches over the rolling lands like a vault,
What tiny mites we are in the universe!
When will democracy smile on us?"

At 2200 that evening, large numbers of troops disperse great multitudes of people. Amid the broadcast of "A notice to the people," bulldozers level a towering cultural relic of 23 years.

The same day one year after, fresh flowers are plentifully piled up on this spot. From an extra-large flower basket, hangs a plaque inscribed with the words: "Please contribute money toward rebuilding democracy wall." The basket is soon full of banknotes. No less than 10,000 yuan is received.

In the afternoon, a deluxe 2000 model sedan stops at the sidewalk. An unexpected piece of news is circulating. A certain political bureau member has offered garlands.

In the evening with all the streets just lit up, troops surround that structure of the 1950's which is neither rustic nor modern--the great hall of the people. Judging from their heavy armaments, they must have been transferred from provinces far away.

It is said that another work conference of the Party Central Committee is going on inside.

(Passages from the book reprinted here have been abridged.)

CS0: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

HU YAOBANG'S SPEECH ON KANG SHENG'S TRIAL

Paris PARIS-PEKIN in French Sep-Oct 79 pp 23-31 (part 1)

[Text] During the first and second civil wars in China Trotskyite elements which had infiltrated into the party allied themselves with the clique of Chen Duxiu to form a counterrevolutionary organization.... During the thirties Kang Sheng was a member of these counterrevolutionary organizations which aimed at frustrating the proletarian revolution and the resistance against Japan. When Li Lisan recognized his errors at the 7th CCP Party Congress, he also revealed certain suspicious aspects in the career of Kang Sheng. Unfortunately convincing proofs did not exist at that time. In addition some members of the party trusted his apparent devotion to the cause. This is why, when questions touching upon him were raised at the 7th Congress, they were put aside in the name of unity. But since then Kang Sheng bore a limitless hatred for Li Lisan. After the liberation he missed no opportunity to put Li Lisan under surveillance and spy on him with the help of a team of special agents. In 1963, before the beginning of the "four clean-ups" campaign, he used his power in an insidious way by reporting to Chairman Mao the so-called "case of the Soviet special agents." He invented charges which sent Li Lisan and others to prison as "agents of Moscow." In the same way he benefited from his position to launch infamous accusations against or even kill any person who might be inclined to reveal how, before the liberation, he went to the Kuomintang and acted as a special counterrevolutionary agent. I remember that in 1966 Liu Shaoqi had suggested to Chairman Mao the creation of a commission to reexamine the case of the "Soviet special agents in the party" and remarked for his benefit that Kang Sheng himself had a suspicious past. But the circumstances were not favorable. The Cultural Revolution had already been launched, and the affair remained thus. Questions are raised as to how Kang Sheng got himself out of it. But today we are not in a position to go into this aspect of the problem in depth. It is clear in any case that he murdered hundreds of our comrades, and for those of us who survived there exists no immediate way of emerging from the shadow.

In the history of our party Li Lisan committed several serious mistakes. He originated the mistaken policy of "Li Lisan leftism" which caused considerable damage to the party. He made his self-criticism at the 7th Congress

and at the same time presented political conclusions touching especially on the organization. On the recommendation of Chairman Mao he was elected a member of the Central Committee at the 8th CCP Party Congress. He then played a leading role in the North China Bureau of the Central Committee. Historically he always remained a member of the party and a veteran revolutionary comrade, even though he had made mistakes. He never betrayed either the party or the revolution. In no case can he be compared with people like Zhang Guotao or Wang Ming. Qu Qiubai, Wang Ming, Li Lisan and Zhang Guotao all followed a left opportunist line which caused great damage to the party. Wang Ming fled to the Soviet Union, where he wrote articles against our party. He even wrote to comrades in the party inciting them to turn against the party. Qu Qiubai died in the nationalist prison of Zhangling. Zhang Guotao went to the Kuomintang and became one of its special agents. But Li Lisan never stopped living and working, even in disgrace. In the party we must give homage to him for that. But when Kang Sheng invented out of whole cloth the so-called "case" of the Soviet special agents, Li Lisan became its victim. When the attempt of the "gang of four" to take power and usurp the control of the party failed, research in the headquarters of that gang unveiled materials concerning Deng Zihui. If the latter had not been labeled as a disloyal element by the gang four on account of the poem of Qu Qiubai, he would have been presented in 1968 as a traitor and special agent of the Kuomintang for having delivered Qu Qiubai and He Suheng. The materials are all of a theoretical character and do not rest on any particular fact, but rather on a logical deduction. These new materials also implicated Zhang Ting sheng who had nothing to do with the arrest of Qu Qiubai. A confidential enquiry was conducted some time ago in the party circles on the whole Qu Qiubai affair. Comrade Tan Zhenlin personally visited the Fujian provincial committee and spoke with the interested persons. Once the proofs were established, Deng Zihui appeared innocent. The materials on the arrest of Deng Zihui by Kang Sheng carried the following comment: "The death of Qu Qiubai has nothing to do with Deng Zihui or with the provincial committee of Fujian. Tan Zhenlin faked the affair and has thus for 30 years prevented a solution from being applied to this case. Qu Qiubai nevertheless committed treason in prison. For the moment it would not be convenient to conduct a public enquiry. Please transmit these materials to Chairman Mao for a final assessment. The final dispositions in the affair will depend upon his instructions."

A letter of Kang Sheng to Jiang Qing dated July 1968 says this: "Someone has revealed that in 1933 Deng Zihui began to be a member of an organization of Kuomintang special agents. He betrayed Qu Qiubai in 1935. I suggest that a small group be named to make an investigation."

We can see from the preceding the influence of Kang Sheng at that time. For decades Kang Sheng was busy torturing people. For decades he caused suffering to masses without number. How was he able to get by with such diabolic behavior for such a long time? How did he get the power to destroy a number of comrades faithful to the party?

In the time of Yan'an, during the rectification campaign, under the pretext of settling the case of the "Red Banner of Henan" and of the provincial committee of Sichuan, he extended the campaign in such a way as to liquidate all opposition. He invented the false "case of the Kuomintang special agents in the party," fought against and smashed many communists without mercy. The Central Committee criticized him for this. At the time Liu Shaoqi and former Prime Minister Zhou Enlai both said that Kang Sheng was not the ideal man for such an important work. They also suggested that an enquiry be made on him. But in the conditions of that time most of the members of the Central Committee were scattered in several places and it was not possible to conduct a special enquiry. From that time on the case of Kang Sheng had to be settled in the simplest way by several members of the Central Committee at Yan'an. After having undergone a superficial investigation, Kang Sheng was then the target of simple oral criticisms and the affair was closed. After this Kang Sheng worked for a while in Shandong where, instead of recognizing his mistakes and the damage he caused to the party, he exploited his position and maneuvered to increase his personal power and organize a clandestine clique in the party with the Shandong Gang as the nucleus. He gathered both the right opportunists, who had the goal of a series of struggles in the party, and the left opportunists, traitors, special agents, subversive elements, elements of other classes, Trotskyites, counterrevolutionaries, and other harmful elements in the party, as well as antiparty bandits who constituted part of his personal entourage. From the period just before and just after the victory over Japan until the Third Civil War, these groups formed "clandestine organizations of subversion of the nonwhite zones." By committing the serious mistake of failing to take note of the power of these already established groups in its decisions at the Xibopo conference in September, the Central Committee gave a chance to Kang Sheng. By acknowledging the need for special security and secrecy, the Central Committee made the Department of Confidential Security an impenetrable and independent kingdom. This situation has not changed up to the present time. And even after the liberation, when the seat of government was transferred from the countryside to the city, and until the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Bureau of Security in the party was affected only in its superstructure despite dramatic changes in personnel and policy. The organic structure of the system remained the same. It could not change. On the eve of the 3d National Security Conference in June 1951, the Central Committee met to discuss means of strengthening control over the opposition, the regulations governing security offices, etc. One of the decisions taken then can be considered as a mistake today. It concerns the division into two parts of the security apparatus following the model of the Soviet security system. Since then in China, in addition to the regular security bureau, there has existed a higher security bureau which completely escapes control by the executive. There also exists a secret committee charged with eliminating the opposition. Originally this type of organization was inspired by good intentions. But subsequently the policy of secrecy enveloped the whole system, placing immense power in the hands of a diabolical man. Since that time the power with which these organs were endowed fell upon our own heads and not upon those of our enemies.

After the war with Japan, Kang Sheng was recognized to be guilty of leftist deviations when he was still at Yan'an, during the Rectification Campaign. In 1948 when comrades like Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping were preparing themselves to face the tasks of liberation, Kang Sheng was still unable to obtain responsibility in the "white zone." It was then that Lin Boju and Ren Bishi recommended him for work in the "white zone." Thus on the eve of the liberation, the essence of secret security work including "work in the white zone" and the secret personnel of the party was in the hands of Kang Sheng. At the time of the Government of National Liberation all the departments were already established and the authority was broadly and equally distributed: secret security work became less important. The power of Kang Sheng did not seem to be assuming significant scope and everything seemed to be in order. No visible threat existed. Furthermore the majority of the comrades were busy setting up a national government for the post-liberation period. Few of them interested themselves in security questions, which enabled Kang Sheng to develop his strength.

In this period Kang Sheng acted diabolically, doing wrong to the party to serve his personal interests. In its disorderly flight the Kuomintang left behind it many enemy files. The files on unidentified Kuomintang special agents interested us especially. On 28 March 1949 Kang Sheng was invested with un hoped-for power since on instructions of the Central Committee he thenceforth possessed enemy files. Using this special power, Kang Sheng had the greater part of these files seized at Nankin, Shanghai, Wuhan, Chongjing, Canton and Kunming burned during the period from 1949 to 1951. In order to explain this act in detail it will be necessary to expect a more vigorous investigation. Here is an example of the indications which we have: the close relative of a student who had left to study in the United States discovered materials establishing that Kang Sheng was a special agent of a certain faction. Although we do not deny the importance of such proofs we will not draw any arbitrary conclusion from them as long as the whole affair has not been entirely examined in its totality.

If in the end it is proven that Kang Sheng was really a special agent of the Kuomintang who lost contact with Taiwan after the liberation, then a number of mysterious cases of the period from the war with Japan to the liberation will finally be able to be explained.

Comrades, as you all know, just on the eve of the Cultural Revolution the organization department of the Central Committee directed by Comrade An Ziwen conducted a vigorous investigation into the death of Li Zongren; the latter had been president of the Kuomintang and had later left the United States to return to China. Despite the past of Li Zongren there should be no discrimination between patriots of the earliest time and those who became patriots belatedly. His escape from the Kuomintang and his return to the motherland deserve our respect and our admiration. Especially since at the time we were subject to the blockade of the United States and we had just broken with the Soviet Union. The whole world, whether the imperialist sphere or the Soviet sphere, kept up an anticommunist, anti-Chinese, and

antipeople propaganda. In choosing to return to China under these conditions, Li Zongren was going against the tide, and his action has more meaning than if he went back today. Why then did he die in mysterious circumstances? We had established before the Cultural Revolution that Li Zongren had died of a slow poison. The surprised Central Committee undertook an investigation which was interrupted by the Cultural Revolution. Subsequently, Jiang Qing also had Li Zhen murdered. Throughout the whole affair, Kang Sheng had joined forces with those of Jiang Qing. Together they fabricated the proofs to discredit a group of persons which included Liu Shaoqi, An Ziwen, Liu Landao, Bo Yipo, and others. They also accused Li Zhen of being "the instigator of murder and the head of the operation acting behind the curtains." They so heaped Li Zhen with infamous accusations that he could not cleanse himself of them even by jumping into the Yellow River. The gang of four also had rumors circulated according to which Li Zongren was murdered because he had revealed to Chairman Mao and to Prime Minister Zhou Enlai a list of traitors and Kuomintang agents in the party. They also manipulated Tan Hulan and Lin Jie to spread across the whole country the rumor that just before his death, Li Zongren had demanded a face to face interview with Chairman Mao and Prime Minister Zhou Enlai to deliver to them a list of hidden Kuomintang agents in the party. They also claimed that Li Zongren told Chairman Mao that our country was a good illustration of the proverb, "The country has potential riches, but does not have recourse to the men it needs."

At one time Li Zongren was a very important person in the Guomindang. He was a military chief already in the time of Sun Zhongshan. He conquered half of China for Jiang Jieshi. Although he broke later with Jiang Jieshi he was for a long time a member of the Kuomintang, about which he naturally knew a great deal. It is therefore not improbable that his death was used to fabricate false accusations. From that moment on, the course of the Cultural Revolution changed, and from a struggle against "persons within the party who have embarked on the capitalist path," which was its original aim, it became a struggle against "enemies, agents, and traitors." It became the useless extension of the long struggle between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. ...It was thus that Kang Sheng went over to the subsequent phase of his intrigue. He unearthed files on 61 cases which had been settled for a long time, accusing 61 cadres of having betrayed the party on the basis of documents which were no longer current. Unfortunately for Kang Sheng, in accusing them of having "renounced publicly their membership in the party" he forgot that Chairman Mao himself had also been guilty of this once. The Central Committee had adopted a resolution on this subject, and the comrades who had "renounced publicly" the party were prisoners at the time and forced to do so. It is not very convincing to make them traitors starting from false evidence. Consequently, Kang Sheng had to add the charge of secret agent to that of traitor; so that he was able to repeat his success gained in the case of the "Party of the Red Banner." The majority of the people's masses and the lower echelon cadres were ignorant of the real situation...

1) I should like first to speak of the case of the "gang of the 61 traitors." With some exceptions they were all released at the order of the Central Committee. Beside those who had died, the exceptions concerned six comrades accused of having sold out the party when they were prisoners, and five others accused of having been special agents after their departure from prison. These cases are still under study, and we need to see them more clearly before making a decision. As for those who were released, they were released at the order of the Central Committee and I have no responsibility in the matter. We have to observe their conduct after their liberation and their contributions to the party. In other words, we should give them a chance to rehabilitate themselves. The same chance for rehabilitation should be offered to the approximately 10,000 cadres above the 9th echelon accused of treason during the Cultural Revolution who have admitted their guilt. They will all be treated without discrimination.

2) The case of the special agents of the Kuomintang. Concerning Li Zongren, his wife Li Dejie and the alleged "13 war criminals expelled from the Kuomintang," the idea that there existed a list of secret Kuomintang agents infiltrated into the party is pure rumor. Du Yuming and the others are still alive and know nothing of all that. Then where did this list come from? This "case" was therefore refuted. If comrades working at the time in the "white zone" made contact with the Kuomintang or even joined an organization of special agents that could only have been at the order of the party; it was part of their work. It is impossible that they could have been real special agents.

During the period between the war against Japan and the Cultural Revolution, Kang Sheng raised the case of the alleged secret agents four times. Later it was the case of the "61 traitors" and the "case of the special agents" mentioned above. 9,400,000 persons were subjected to struggle sessions and confessed to being traitors or special agents, or confessed being disloyal elements or former agents. The majority of them were members of the party, cadres devoted to the communist cause. Almost 1 percent of the total population of the country was condemned for treason, as secret agents, or relatives of disloyal elements. How many were pushed into self-incrimination, death, or simply to suicide with the help of extorted confessions or physical torture?

We still cannot give exact figures, but cite examples only of certain specific groups. For example, among the traitors, special agents, and disloyal elements brought to confession who served in the guerrilla detachment of Huanan and that of Dongjiang during the World War II, 6 percent were either tortured or forced to death. You will perhaps say that this was the work of the gang of four and the partisans of Lin Biao and that Kang Sheng amounted to nothing in it. This is not true. The false documents stemming from the Ministry of Interior which served as basis for the accusation, and the false evidence presented were under the control of Kang Sheng and were fabricated by his thugs all across the country. Even today we cannot always stop the poison. From November-December 1976 to January-February 1977 the provincial committee of Guangdong set up under the direction of

Qiao Linyi a program to liquidate special agents. It was only in April 1977 that the Central Committee issued a directive prohibiting the execution of the program. In the course of numerous campaigns against special agents conducted during the past 10 years or more, not only every person having relations abroad was persecuted and forced to death, but many members of the party, cadres and people's masses were subjected to infamous accusations on the basis of obscure charges without proof. In many cases, not only were innocent persons labeled "spies," but their friends and their close relatives were also simultaneously implicated for complicity. The label "counter-revolutionary family" was stuck on all the members of his family. In the district of Xiangtan there was an old member of the Brigade of the Old Red Guard 60 or 70 years of age. At the time of the "Three Antis" campaign he was labeled "special agent" and committed suicide since he was unable to stand the treatment imposed upon him. He believed that with his death, he would put an end to everything. Unfortunately it only aggravated the affair. Since he died in abnormal circumstances, all his close relatives were implicated. His family had to "pay" in his stead. Not only his family and his coworkers but all sorts of people were dragged into the business. How many suffered? If we go back up the chain of responsibilities we come to Kang Sheng, the ultimate guilty party.

In May 1977 the Organization Department of the Central Committee issued a directive annulling everything which had been undertaken by Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng against the alleged Anti-Communist Liberation Army of Fujian and Canton, and the alleged Anti-Communist Liberation Organization of Guangxi. All the persons implicated in these two affairs, condemned, or imprisoned will be freed and rehabilitated. The dead will also be rehabilitated and their reputation restored if they are not the object of another accusation. In February of this year (1978) the Organization Department also issued a directive for the reexamination of the injustices committed during the "Three Antis" campaign of 1970. In a word, all the false charges were dismissed, all the mistakes corrected, and all the injustices redressed.

All these dispositions aim at correcting the mistakes of the past. But if we want to be certain that these situations do not recur it will be necessary to smash completely the fascist organizations of special agents such as those which operated under the orders of Kang Sheng. We should cleanse our system of the poison which he has injected. We should establish a system in which the laws will be applied strictly according to legal procedures. We should put into effect regulations and policies to control the campaigns of struggle against the enemy. If we do not take action in this way, we will one day see the return of the methods of elimination of the opposition typical of Kang Sheng, but without Kang Sheng. In such an event how much blood will again be spilled?

Last year we reexamined a large number of cases which had accumulated in the past. Many problems which had remained in suspense were cleared up and a number of our comrades were freed. At the same time we rehabilitated and restored to honor many persons among the cadres and the people's masses,

both members of the party and not, who were victims of false or fabricated accusations. And while we cannot restore to life those who are dead, we can rehabilitate their names and confer honors upon them posthumously with appropriate ceremonies. As the Chinese proverb says: "Disgrace based on injustice will be changed into glory." The dead will then be able to rest in peace. As you know, comrades, those of our comrades who died suffered enormously physically and psychologically before life was extinguished. Some were tortured to the point that death ensued. Others committed suicide. Still others were poisoned or murdered by other means. Some died of hunger, while others were locked up in lunatic asylums and died there of despair. Those who had a post in the party or the government were rehabilitated quite rapidly. But there still exist millions of ordinary cadres or people of the masses. They are waiting for justice to be done to them. Some died long ago and their bodies have already decayed, but the label "enemy agent" has still not been removed from their names. Their families are still suffering from it. Even if the structure of our Organization Department were larger we would still not be numerous enough to reexamine and settle all the cases one by one. We therefore desire that the work of reexamination of cases be undertaken locally in each province and each district. We will thus be able to settle all the cases in suspense in a short time and free as quickly as possible those who are still under detention. Let us leave nothing in suspense. To conduct this task successfully, we cannot rely only on the cadres; we need the help and cooperation of the people's masses. With the cooperation of all the work will be accomplished rapidly...

It is already sufficiently odious that Kang Sheng perpetrated so many crimes. But the worst is that at the end he even had under surveillance Chairman Mao, the President of the National Assembly Zhu De, Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, and Vice President Deng Xiaoping. He had listening devices installed in the library and the office of Chairman Mao. Everyone remembers that Prime Minister Zhou Enlai had to stay a long time in the hospital. One of the reasons was, of course, the state of his health, and he needed rest. But another reason was that he could not live at his home. Prime Minister Zhou Enlai had once said ironically to Marshal Ye Jianying, "I cannot live at my home. I can do nothing but move to the hospital...there at least I can say what I like."

In September, Chairman Mao severely reprimanded Kang Sheng. He called upon him to get all that trash out of his office. Kang Sheng immediately denied everything. But later, in December 1972 the listening devices were discovered in Chairman Mao's office during repair work. Chairman Mao was furious. He called in Kang Sheng and demanded explanations. The latter not only loudly denied any responsibility, but also took the precaution of eliminating the three implicated technicians, thus covering up one crime with another. This is why Chairman Mao once had said to the Central Committee "I am surrounded by people worse than Lin Biao. They are not men but devils." He was certainly referring to the thugs of Kang Sheng. From 1969 to 1975 Kang Sheng spent 230 million yuan on purchases of sophisticated espionage equipment imported from abroad. This equipment was not used

against our enemies but against our revolutionary comrades. During the approximately 10 years during which he had responsibility for our security system, he transformed our secret services into a kind of "Gestapo" independent of the Central Committee. This whole gang could arrest and punish at will. They could eliminate a man without orders. They could do anything, and they did everything they wanted.

In 1971, after the Lin Biao-Chen Boda incident, Kang Sheng was charged with the work of investigation within the special cases section of the Central Committee. Acting behind the back of Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, then chief of that section, he took possession of the practically intact network of special agents put in place by Lin Biao at Canton, Wuhan, Hangzhou, Shanghai, Hainan, Shenyang, and Beidaihe. He likewise integrated into his own network all the partisans of the Lin Biao-Chen Boda group. In the last half of 1972 he combined all these elements with 500 elements selected from within his own security network to establish the Special Actions Corps. It was the office of Kang Sheng which served as base and they were under his direct control. Kang Sheng also set up his own network of special agents in each of the 54 large cities of the country. Each of the antennas was under the responsibility of elements in which he had absolute confidence. Their task consisted of exercising surveillance over the activities of responsible officials of the party and transmitting reports regularly to Kang Sheng. It must be said here that no bureau chief of the Central Committee had as much space as Kang Sheng. Chairman Mao always opposed the bureau chiefs' having too many secretaries. But Kang Sheng had an enormous number of secretaries at his service and a dozen liaison men. What did they do? Nothing. They did the work of any special agent. They transmitted secret reports. They sought to damage other people. In addition, Kang Sheng was responsible for one single department in the party, but a single office was not enough for him. He had to have two more annexes so that all his "bureau personnel" would be comfortable. Then only could he enlarge their sphere of operations, assign absolute power to himself, and commit all possible crimes. The power of Kang Sheng reached its apogee around 1974. Everyone in the government felt it. Many comrades in the central apparatus of the party noted that "it's better to descend into hell than to enter the bureau of Kang," or even formulated the idea in verse: "The bureau of old Kang inspires more fear than the Kingdom of the King of the Dead."

Everyone feared Kang. Everyone considered him more important than King Yama, the god who judges and governs the dead in the Buddhist hell. Not only could they arrest and kill at will, but they even set up a torture chamber. They said that Kang Sheng was an ugly fellow who "never said anything bad and never did anything good." Without the cooperation of Kang Sheng and his network of agents across the country with a thug in each district, the "gang of four" would never have been able to seize power before all of us responsible officials of the party were dead first....

When Kang Sheng decided to arrest a party member or someone belonging to a democratic organization or who was an employee of the government, or

even a deputy of the National Assembly, the victim never knew of what crime he was accused before he died under torture. Without looking very far, let us take the example of Liu Xiao. Apparently there were no personal relations between Liu Xiao and Kang Sheng. In addition, the both lived in Shanghai during the revolutionary period, and both were militants for the revolution at the University of Shanghai. Comrade Yun Daiying, the oldest member of the League of Communist Youths was also with them. But Kang Sheng fabricated out of whole cloth a "special agent" case against Liu Xiao. Furthermore, on the evening he had chosen for the arrest, he offered him a "farewell banquet." According to Liu Xiao he did not understand why Kang Sheng had invited him, but he did not dare to refuse. In the middle of the dinner Kang Sheng suddenly turned towards Liu Xiao and asked the question: "I have discovered a special agent who worked for the Kuomintang and for the Soviet Union. Do you think I should arrest him?" Liu Xiao at first thought it was a drunken joke. It was only later, when Kang Sheng mentioned the name of Pan Hannian that he knew what was happening. Was he going to be swallowed up by Kang Sheng? He then asked, "Are you beginning to get interested in me? Are you going to crush me?" The rascal Kang Sheng then said with a cold, forced smile, "It is not in my power to crush you."

When Liu Xiao took his leave he had hardly sat down in the car when it sped at full speed toward the prison. He remained in detention 3 months without anyone on the outside knowing anything about it. No one dared to mention his name until finally Chen Yi telephoned Kang Sheng to ask him what had happened. Kang Sheng said drily, "Liu Xiao has already confessed that he was a double agent. He is in the process of writing his confession of his liaison with the Huadong [East China] Office and the Shanghai Party Committee. I don't know who are his other accomplices." In this way he directly implicated Chen Yi who replied, "You can take me away too, Kang Sheng." Chen Yi was furious. Kang Sheng addressed a report to Chairman Mao complaining that Chen Yi was interfering in his work of hunting down secret agents and had threatened him....

6108

CSO: 4200

PARTY AND STATE

PUBLICATION OF SHORT STORY EVOKES OPPOSING VIEWS

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 12 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Zhao Ke [0664 3784]: "On the Fiction 'Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office.'"]

[Excerpts] Editor's Note: Publication of the short story "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office" in issue No 7 of RENMIN WENXUE [PEOPLE'S LITERATURE] evoked diverse reactions. Some comrades praised it as a singular production in the wake of the smashing of the "gang of four." Other comrades see it as full of serious ideological defects. In observance of the principle of "letting a hundred schools of thought contend," this newspaper publishes two articles [one of which is excerpted below] stating opposing viewpoints, to prompt a discussion, enliven the literary arena and to promote a more vigorous "blooming" of "a hundred flowers."

Publication of the short story "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office" in issue No 7 of the RENMIN WENXUE evoked two different reactions among the broad masses of readers and in literary circles. Those comrades who welcome and praise the short story regard it as a courageous disclosure of the negative aspects of the reality today, creating the character of Qiao Guangpu [0829 0342 2613] as the brave warrior who goes all out in his efforts to realize the Four Modernizations, a short story, therefore, which we should endorse. Other comrades, at the same time, draw attention to the seriously questionable aspects in the ideological trend and in the personalities it depicts.

Having different critical assessments of a short story, and even a controversy over it, is now fortunately possible as a consequence of the smashing of the "gang of four," the liquidation of superstitions and the emancipation of thought. In these respects we completely turn away from the evil practices of the "gang of four" of attaching shameful labels on people or bludgeoning people into doing things. Only by conscientiously applying the principle of the "double hundreds" [Let a hundred schools of thought contend, let a hundred flowers bloom], by seeking truth from facts, by presenting the facts and reasoning things out and debating different viewpoints, can our knowledge correctly reflect the objective reality, and only in this way will we be

able to adjust our ideological line and produce a full bloom of literary creations. In this spirit the present article intends to discuss some personal views on the ideological aspects and the portrayal of personalities in the short story "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office," in the hope of gathering criticism and comments from readers, writers and friends in the literary world.

Starting Out From "The Source of All Misfortune"

The main events in "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office" take place in an electrical machinery plant. The story says: "The 'gang of four' was overthrown 2 years ago, another 6 months have passed in 1978, and the electrical machinery plant has failed to meet production quotas for 2 years and 6 months." Why should a big plant of "8,900 people" all this time after smashing the "gang of four" not be able to fulfill its production quota? To answer this question, the author first of all gives a revealing description of all the disgusting conditions that exist in the production and management of the plant and among its workers and cadres:

--The 12 top-ranking technical men whom Qiao had trained for 10 years have "all left the production frontline."

--A young worker named Du Bing [2629 0365] "works without concern or care for what he does. He throws finished blades on the floor while humming a popular foreign hit song."

--The quality of management in the plant is "firstly, crude; secondly, slack; thirdly, perfunctory." "The plant director has no firm grasp of management."

--"The workers in the electrical machinery plant are confused in their minds." "The cadres are almost all the third set of the team." "The older men are full of anger and the new people have no peace of mind either."

There is no denying that conditions as revealed in the story may indeed exist in real life today, however, the crux of the problem is what explanations does the author offer for the social causes for all these conditions. It is precisely on this extremely serious question that people find it difficult to agree with the ideological viewpoints displayed by the author. In the opinion of the author the chaotic conditions seem to have almost no relationship with the destructive interference and sabotage of the ultra-leftist line pursued for many years by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." On the contrary, the reasons are individual and subjective ones, or brought about by the great struggle of exposing and criticizing the forces of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and their henchmen. For instance, when discussing the case of the 12 top-ranking technical men who had left the production frontline, the story says that "they rather went to some other easier jobs," as if there had been absolutely no persecution of top technical personnel and model workers in a big factory like that by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and that there was therefore no question of redressing injustices and of other bogus and misjudged cases. In another instance, when discussing the "ideological confusion among the workers in the electrical machinery plant," the story says, "many people

lost the idol they had been worshipping in the past and immediately felt bereft of their convictions, of national self-esteem and sense of pride in socialism. What is more fearful than seeing the masses, in ideological respects, becoming nothing but a vast expanse of drifting sand? During all these past years the workers have been deceived, duped and berated and have degenerated in body and mind." Obviously, this points to the movement for the emancipation of the people's minds, but the facts have been quite different. Practical life experiences have proven that the movement of liberating the mind was effective in turning chaos into right order and in a thorough reform and overhaul, so that the whole party, the military and the entire nation rallied more solidly together under the banner of Mao Zedong Thought to struggle for the realization of the Four Modernizations. Certain evildoers who follow Lin Biao and the "gang of four" vigorously negate the political line of the Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee and slander the emancipation of thought as "cutting down our flag" and creating chaos. The short story is indeed adopting this mistaken ideology and even gives free rein to such utterances as that the emancipation of thought is "deceiving, duping and berating" the workers, causing the workers to "degenerate in body and mind." This is most shocking to hear! In another instance, when discussing the leadership team in the electrical machinery plant, the story says: "The cadres in the electrical machinery plant are almost all a third set of the team: 10 years ago one set, another set that came up in the cultural revolution, and the set that Ji Shen [0370 3947] brought in as his team. The older men are full of anger and the new people have no peace of mind either." The author passes his own judgement on the three sets of leadership teams. In the story the author employs contrasts and the conflict of contradictions between the representative characters of these three teams to tell the people: in the first set none of the cadres could be trusted with the exception of plant director Qiao and party secretary Shi Gan [4258 2413]. In the team that came up in the Cultural Revolution, rebel leader Xi Wangbei [6741 2598 0554] is representative, he sees in production no task that cannot be fulfilled. After the smashing of the "gang of four," although he is unjustly declared "suspended from duty and to be checked," it is this heroic personaltiy who pursues realization of the Four Modernizations and should be held in high esteem by the party. However, after the smashing of the "gang of four" it is he who becomes the target for all the story's attacks by the team of which Ji Shen, the new plant director is representative. According to his own political understanding, the author in this connection gives a description of actual life in which each gets what he deserves.

In the story the author describes how responsibility for all offenses and for turning the electrical machinery plant into a "heap of rubbish" must be attributed directly to Director Ji Shen, whom the author designates, without mincing words, as "the source of all evil in the plant," "Qiao Guangpu's opponent," and evil man, an enemy. Now what kind of a man is Ji Shen? The story says: "This man, as he often asserts to the masses, was persecuted by the 'gang of four' for 10 years." During these 10 years, he was deputy director of the cadre school under the municipal party committee, "the epicenter of the typhoon is quiet," the cadre school was therefore "the quietest place to be." "By allowing (the major leadership cadres of the

municipal party committee) certain extra facilities in food, housing, work and absences, he ingratiated himself with these older people." After the smashing of the "gang of four," these men mostly returned to their former positions. Relying on the power of these people, Ji Shen got himself into the position of "big plant director." "It is not that he did not work hard in running the plant during these 2 years, but he tried to be too smart and too responsive in political respects, which in turn hampered all his actions. Every day he would carefully read all newspapers and documents, give out slogans, carry out central tasks, launch movements and guide production. He was also extremely adept at guessing the right answers to riddles and could expertly read the meaning between the lines of newspaper articles and other documents. He gave credence, and yet did not quite give credence, to documents of the central government and would rather base on rumor, assumption and grapevine news as well as his own rich imagination in judging the hour and sizing up the right moment for his own actions. This of course slowed down his actions and when troublesome problems came up, he would take hypocritical action. Treacherous and full of trickery, he would place his own personal safety and interest above all else." In brief, he was "at most a very ordinary political cadre who fed on the party." I entertain grave doubts; has this description by the author any small foundation in real life? May I point out, the uneasiness and dangers in the cadre schools of those days, those were the places where Lin Biao and the "gang of four" persecuted the veteran cadres. They were the places where endless criticism and struggle meetings were held, where endless self-criticisms had to be written, where a kind of slave labor and prison-type life had to be endured. If, under these conditions, Ji Shen was giving the veteran cadres certain facilities, it would indicate that he had not sold himself body and soul to Lin Biao and the "gang of four," that he felt class solidarity with the veteran cadres and that he dared risk persecution by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which are all commendable traits. How can one say he was really "treacherous and full of trickery, and placed his personal safety and his own interests above everything else in all affairs?" It is true that after the smashing of the "gang of four," several leading cadres who had again returned to their original posts, did not rid themselves of the pernicious influences of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in addition persisted in a feudal special-privilege mentality, keeping alive the forces of bureaucratism and of the small-producer mentality. They did not work energetically and were indifferent toward the Four Modernizations, rather craving for special privileges and pursuing unhealthy tendencies and separating themselves seriously from the masses, thus causing harm, in varying degrees, to the undertakings of the party. If such negative phenomena are exposed and castigated in a work of literature, suggesting to us certain curative measures, this is of course most meaningful. However, to our regret, the author did not write in this sense. The short story attacks Ji Shen so vigorously for the reason that he "daily read all newspapers and documents, issued slogans, carried out core tasks, launched movements and guided production." Everybody knows that after the smashing of the "gang of four," newspapers and documents transmitted the directives and policies of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng. They launched the movement to expose, criticize and investigate the counterrevolutionary crimes of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and to ferret out people involved in their plot to usurp party and state. If

Ji Shen became a big plant manager and "read newspapers and documents, gave out slogans, carried out core tasks, launched movements and guided production," was he perhaps too astute and to be censured for that? Much less would he have any need for cover-ups because the truth is that he was persecuted for 10 long years, also never had gotten involved with the cultural revolution at the electrical machinery plant, nor would he need to suppress the masses to protect himself. The great struggle to expose and criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and the influences of all their henchmen does not in the least conflict with his personal interests. Under these circumstances it runs counter to life logic if the author paints Ji Shen as afflicted with certain character features and guilty of behavior which makes him appear as "a bird in a conflagration" or "a fish stuck in dry mud." If we want to point to certain shortcomings in Ji Shen then all we can say is that he was not resolute and forceful enough in fully arousing the masses, in exposing and criticizing the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in launching a deep-going movement of exposure, criticism and investigations. What deserves special attention is that the author does not attack that Ji Shen's "treacherous and tricky" character blemishes, to some extent, adversely affected his launching the exposure, criticism and investigation movement, but that the author attacked the movement itself. Because what Ji Shen, described in the story as "an ordinary political cadre who feeds on the party," does in actual practice and his major action which results in serious adverse effects--the outstanding contradiction that forms the core of the entire story--is exactly that as representative of the party committee when he announces "the suspension from duty and checking" of rebel leader Xi Wangbei. Finally, this man, Ji Shen, is made "the source of all evil in the plant." The exposure, criticism and investigation movement that he launched is declared "incompatible like fire and water" with the large-scale movement for the realization of the Four Modernizations. One must say, the author's assessment of actual life and his conclusions are something that we cannot agree with.

How Does the Story Describe the Exposure, Criticism and Investigation Movement?

The following is a section from the description given in the short story:

Xi Wangbei said: "I demand that the party committee make a clear statement to the entire body of staff and workers on what basis I was suspended from my duties and my affairs to be checked. Isn't all investigation already concluded? Firstly, I did not beat, smash or steal; secondly, I had no personal connections with the "gang of four," on what basis do you want me to undergo rectification and reform? Because I was once a leader of a group of rebels? Because I once had criticized the capitalist-roaders? Or because I am a so-called new cadre? That would be on a basis of talk that people fabricate like 'weaving baskets and shaping molds,' wouldn't it? Qiao Guangpu, looking at how agile Xi was with his chopsticks, smiled with bitterness and thought: "Now you also will get a taste of it. Didn't you once order others to undergo rectification and reform on the basis of talk fabricated like "baskets and molds?"

In this harmonious duet, people can clearly see how Xi is swollen with arrogance in his demand for a "clear statement" and reversal of verdict, and how Qiao clearly is determined to maintain the reversal that has already happened to Xi. The author has obviously meant this to be the major scene which contains the ideological theme of the entire story. Thereafter, all actions of this one man Xi are described in the story with the only purpose of proving his deviations in conducting the exposure, criticism and investigation movement, or we may even say his committing mistakes. Thus, the question dealt with in the story is not only the concrete question whether instituting a check and clearing up the affairs of Xi is correct, but a question of principle, namely whether the exposure, criticism and investigation movement is, or is not using methods of the "gang of four" by submitting people to rectification and whether the movement is not in error in magnifying and overstating things.

As the author sees it, this man Xi, first of all, had not beaten, smashed or stolen, and, secondly, had never had any personal relations with the "gang of four." He was suspended from office and investigated merely because he had once been the chief of a party of rebels, had criticized the capitalist-roaders and was one of the so-called new cadres. The author makes this movement out to have committed the unpardonable errors of:

(1) "Submitting people to rectification on the basis of talk fabricated like the weaving of baskets and shaping of molds." This is in nature the same as the tricks practiced during the cultural revolution of submitting people to rectification. All the thoughts that Qiao is said to be thinking confirm and underline this.

(2) The leading cadres who took Xi to be a "rocket cadre" [going up too fast] and as such to be submitted to rectification, "stuck to their posts as if they wanted to stick to them until death. If anybody else tried to replace them they thought them rising too fast and using immoral means." "In actual fact those who had been officials before (old cadres) were more rapacious for power and office-crazy than those who had not been officials before (new cadres)."

(3) When the metaphysical mentality of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was rampant, the exposure, criticism and investigation movement also practiced metaphysical ways. That is why Xi dared to fiercely accuse: "When did China (note, that he does not point specifically to the director of the electrical machinery plant Ji Shen, who ordered Xi suspended and checked into) stop practicing metaphysical ways? The cultural revolution unseated all the veteran cadres. Now there is much talk that that throws into doubt all education and training, but on the other hand the new cadres are now all being "fried" (that is, things are being overstated). Of course there are "gang of four" elements among the new cadres, but the proportion cannot possibly be large. If the majority does not follow the party closely in working on core tasks, they may keep abreast with this movement but will become victims of the next movement." "Ever since the start of the movement, cadres that were team or group leaders or of higher rank were subjected to investigation and criticism. All plants, workshops, teams and groups believed

in and followed the old principle that 'every new sovereign brings his own courtiers' and applied all their energies on 'rectifying and reforming' people." "The slogan of modernization was again loudly proclaimed" but "their energies were all wasted!"

(4) Xi Wangbei is discussing only one aspect of the problem. As to the other side of the problem, when emphasizing the implementation of the cadre policy, there also occurred the following incident: "When Director Liu of the boiler plant returned to his original position, he called all the veteran and middle-level cadres upstairs and wined and dined them." The next day, everybody was back at the original positions. Please note, isn't their greed for power and craving for official positions not worse than that of the team that came up in the cultural revolution?

This is the overall assessment of the exposure, criticism and investigation movement that the author gives through the speeches of the main actors in the story. Reading it is enough to send cold shivers down one's spine and make one tremble with fear! It is as if the spirit of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had been called back to the battleground to inflict new calamities on our nation! We must point out here that the author's descriptions have no connection with the realities of life. Xi, this "chief of a rebel party" may indeed not have carried out any beatings, smashing and robbing and may indeed not have had personal relations with the "gang of four," but there is no denying:

(1) that he took in criticizing and denouncing "capital-roaders." There had in fact been not one "capital-roader" at the plant, which goes to show that his denunciations were mistakes;

(2) that everybody at the plant, from leadership to middle-level cadres and down to the "twelve sharp knives" were all kicked out, which goes to show that he attacked and struck the whole outfit;

(3) that on the occasions when he criticized and denounced the "capital-roaders," the meetings were extended "over several hours." They were "pop-sicle-like" and "jet-propelled," which made them cruel struggle meetings with merciless attacks;

(4) that he had people undergo rectification merely "based on talk fabricated like the weaving of baskets and the shaping of molds." They were political frame-ups;

(5) that the team of cadres that came up in the cultural revolution showed themselves as beset with serious factionalism;

(6) and as to the "new cadres?" They set themselves up by destroying others and became officials through rebellion.

It shows that during the cultural revolution, Xi actively followed the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." He was the "vacillating

party." During the 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four," he never acknowledged his own mistakes, or showed any change, and furthermore indicated that he would "to the end always meet toughness with toughness." Is it not only right to institute an investigation into the affairs of such a man and to redeem him? Furthermore, the major contradiction which the exposure, criticism and investigation movement wanted to solve was the contradiction between the entire nation and all comrades on the one hand and the counterrevolutionary forces of Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and the likes on the other hand. Target of this struggle are the many evildoers who followed Lin Biao and the "gang of four," including those veteran cadres who had sold their souls to them. The story describes this struggle as a contradiction between veteran and new cadres, which is obviously flying into the face of facts. Furthermore, Xi's talk of the "rocket cadres" makes one feel that he is defending the "two crashes" [crash admittance of new party members, crash promotion of new cadres] practiced by the "gang of four." According to Xi's logic, if such "rocket cadres," like Yu Huiyong [0060 2585 3144], are pulled down from their horses, this is like hitting out without mercy against the so-called "new cadres." Thus, the appearance of a figure like Xi Wangbei is not accidental but rather the literary expression of a countercurrent in present day society which plans to reverse the verdicts of the exposure, criticism and investigation movement. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have been pulled down, but the pernicious influence of their widespread endeavors in the literary field cannot be wiped out in one morning.

After the smashing of the "gang of four," our party launched a mass movement on a nationwide scale for exposure, criticism and investigation. This struggle basically destroyed the counterrevolutionary political power of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which had been on the rampage for 10 years and had inflicted serious calamities on the Chinese people. It rectified the leadership teams at all levels, most penetratingly criticized the counterrevolutionary line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," implemented the various policies of the party, redressed and righted the many miscarriages of justice, cases of sham and false accusations, and reestablished a political scene of peace and solidarity. This was done to remove all obstacles on the road of shifting the focal point in the work of the entire party toward the constructive undertaking of realizing socialist modernization. Exactly as the special commentator of RENMIN RIBAO [PEOPLE'S DAILY] in his article "Get Rid of Destructive Interference; Firmly Uphold the Party's Policy Toward Cadres Who Have Committed Errors" pointed out, "the facts have proven that the policy of the CCP Central Committee in the matter of investigations has been correct. The policy absorbed the positive and negative experiences of many previous movements, restored the fine tradition in dealing with line struggles within the party, strictly differentiated between two kinds of contradictions, and toward comrades who have committed errors followed the policy of 'unity, criticism, unity.' The movement therefore proceeded in good order, very steadily and successfully and established a new exemplary model for the solution of line struggle problems." However, where does the problem lie with the descriptions and discussions in the short story "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office," which displays so different a viewpoint?

What Kind of a Man is Qiao Guangpu?

When the short story "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office" was published, it was welcomed by many comrades. The reason for that is mainly that everybody in this nation feels an extreme urgency about the realization of the Four Modernizations and that at the same time everybody is extremely dissatisfied with all the negative phenomena in our society that are in conflict with the Four Modernizations. For this reason, Qiao Guangpu, the top-ranking hero of the story, is a very confused man. The author's pen makes Qiao out to be a man of an "iron wrist" who dares to show boldness and resolution in reorganizing the enterprise and who fully immersed himself in hard work for the realization of the Four Modernizations. His political understanding, his high ideological level, his professional abilities and his work style could all be set as pattern and standard for everybody. Xi Wangbei says of him that "a plant director as he is would be hard to find again in our country." Shi Gan, the party committee secretary, praises him by saying: "If all plants were run like the electrical machinery plant, the country could perhaps quickly find itself in good shape and the party could perhaps also recover its youthful vigor and the whole organism regain its health." Qiao is thus elevated to frightening heights and all the expectations of our party and our country are placed on his person. His actions are panacea for all our ills; we should therefore very carefully study everything about this "heroic person."

Qiao is absolutely opposed "to require a complete theory in justification, every time a job has been successfully completed." He furthermore declared: "In all my life I have detested people who claim to produce truths." Although he issued no political proclamations on his assumption of office, his every move and action follows one political line. The major feature of this political line is a repudiation of the "elimination of chaos and restoration of order" through the exposure, criticism and investigation movement. The counterrevolutionary sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," which lasted for 10 long years, and our party's practical experiences of the last 3 years of struggle all confirm again and again that the ultra-leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," as well as the various unhealthy tendencies that have arisen under their pernicious influences, still continue to exist in our society today, and still constitute obstacles to the realization of the Four Modernizations. It would therefore be very difficult to shift the focus of our work and to unite all cadres and the masses to dedicate themselves, heart and sole, to the realization of the Four Modernizations without effectively carrying out the exposure, criticism and investigation movement from start to finish, without smashing the counterrevolutionary force of the factionalist setup of the "gang of four" and without criticizing the ultra-leftist line and eliminating its widespread poison and influence. After Qiao assumed his post, he spent half a month "feeling out, process by process, the whole production process" for the purpose of "grasping precisely the seat of the illness," and to be able to effectively "carry out the big operation." What was the "seat of the illness?" Qiao does not say. However, directly following, the author arranges a scene of birthday celebrations for Qiao when the actual content of the "seat of the illness," which he wants to "grasp precisely," becomes evident from his attitude toward "some older middle-level cadres in

the plant" and toward Xi, the chieftan of the rebel party. When these older middle-level cadres pointedly suggest that the question of the "gang of four" has not yet been satisfactorily settled (it is very interesting that this question is raised here), Qiao reacts with extreme resentment. In his view, there basically seems to exist no "gang of four" problem in this big plant with all its "8,900 workers," and no need to solve the problem of correct line and implementation of cadre policy. As a result, when the older middle-level cadres demand implementation of the cadre policy, Qiao takes it to mean that they want to be restored to their original official positions and then enlarges on balanced production, the need for standardization and serialization, adaptation of production to common uses and a whole series of questions concerning production management. He thus places the exposure, criticism and investigation movement and the Four Modernizations into opposition to each other and uses the Four Modernizations to negate the exposure, criticism and investigation movement. At the same time he is completely indifferent to the movement in his plant and attributes to "personal vendetta" the serious mistake that Xi Wangbei's gang of four men committed in persecuting the veteran cadres. He writes off with one stroke of the pen the true essence of the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines and proclaims Xi Wangbei free from all responsibilities. This seems to be one way of showing the shift in focus in the party's work. Therefore, when Xi truculently demands that the new party committee should explain to him clearly why he is to undergo rectification and gives vent to slander and grievances against the whole exposure, criticism and investigation movement, Qiao does not rebuke him but thinks it is merely a matter of "too many critics and prattlers." We don't believe that dismissal of such "rocket cadre" types like Xi is the only correct measure to take in the course of this movement. However, he must be made to change his standpoint and to accept the lesson that it was a mistake to pursue the ultra-leftist line advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," but judging from the way Xi vents his grievances against the exposure, criticism and investigation movement, he definitely did not change his attitude. Qiao believes it when the chieftain of a rebel party declares: "I did my very best to resist; I did not intend to surrender completely to them," and Qiao then enters into a political alliance with him to become a supporter of Xi's efforts to reverse verdicts of the exposure, criticism and investigation movement. It could not be expressed more clearly what the true essence of the political line is that Qiao is following. At the end of the story Qiao sings aloud: "Bao Longtu [0545 7893 0956] sat in meditation in Kaifengfu," which may be said to "paint eyes into the dragon's picture" [A pun on the word "long" (dragon) in Bao Longtu's name]. He probably wanted to give himself out as a "Qiao Qingtian" ["Qingtian" (honest official) is one of the epithets of Bao] when returning to the electrical machinery plant and also when helping Xi Wangbei out of his dilemma and bringing down all cadres who were firmly resolved to carry out the exposure, criticism and investigation movement. Even more noteworthy is that after bestowing on Xi Wangbei the honor of calling his actions a series of great heroic efforts for the realization of the Four Modernizations, the author lets him imitate Qiao in writing out a "military pledge" [to be liable to punishment by military law in case of infraction], taking the initiative in offering to solve the raw materials and fuel problems which Qiao had not been able to solve by his personal intervention. Qiao

finally admits his own shortcomings in the area of "relationship science" and agrees to Xi's request. If Qiao is acknowledged as a hero of the Four Modernizations, then Xi Wangbei is even more so by one count! We see then that all the love and sympathy of the story is expended on the person of Xi Wangbei, the rebel chieftain. Only because of him is there hope for the entire generation, but objections are raised against the party's work of investigation. Qiao therefore adopted the correct policy; this is the main theme reflected by the main characters of the story.

Even though the author makes Qiao bravely bear a heavy load, an audacious and forceful man who dares to "slice and stab," unmindful of grudges of the past and possessing many other virtues, this beautiful mantle cannot hide his tyrannical work style with its complete disregard for democracy, his arbitrary decisions and peremptory actions, "meaning what he said," placing himself above the party and the masses and ordering people about. This type of a so-called "top-ranking heroic figure" created in the course of "gang-style" literary works is not a stranger to us. He did not have to wait for permission from the enlarged meeting of the bureau's party committee, but presumptuously sent a car to get Shi Gan out from the cadre school, to make him party secretary in the electrical machinery plant. He did not have to await an official assignment but came himself to the electrical machinery plant, gesticulating and gesturing, issuing orders left and right. He decided to carry out a big check of all cadres and workers as well as an assessment of each man, and without going through the procedure of retraining and reeducating, he launched surprise attacks against cadres and the masses like the scandalous actions of Professor Chi Qunkao [6688 5028 5072]. He organized the so-called "surplus staff" into service teams, in serious contravention of the spirit of Comrade Hua Guofeng's speech, where he said: "Though we want to solve problems, we also want to consolidate the situation," and created new confusion. When Du Bing [2629 0365] and his people made trouble, Qiao did not carry out the least political ideological work, giving as excuse that he "conducts affairs strictly according to the rules," actually carrying out "punish-ism." When his methods were criticized by the masses, his temper rose sky-high, he slammed the table and swore loudly: "You bastards and hoodlums." "There was a crackling sound in his mouth and one of his molars had broken into two." This was to show that this open-minded and generous man who was full of courtesy toward a leader of rebels, would gnash his teeth in anger and hate, when the masses wrote letters of accusation. This shows that Qiao's actions have very much the temper of a rebel and are incompatible with the fine style of work that has always been advocated by our party, namely of seeking truth from facts, of being in close contact with the masses and of criticism and self-criticism. Furthermore, all the characters of the story are created as contrasts to him. The party committee secretary Shi Gan is completely apathetic to the persecutions inflicted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and on the contrary even voices concern that he brought all his misfortunes upon himself by his own tongue and, consistently, bites off half of his own tongue. The engineer Tong Zhen [4547 6297] suffers from political senility. With regard to the marriage question, Qiao employs a peculiar method which is really more like a farce. In its resolution to shift the focus of the party's work to the constructive undertaking of socialist modernizations, the Third Plenary

Session of the CCP Central Committee reflected the fundamental interests and demands of the entire nation and received the enthusiastic support of the entire nation. However, in this electrical machinery plant of 8,900 people, there is only this one man, Qiao Guangpu, who feels the overwhelming force of "time and figures." Through his efforts there is later also a nephew Xi Wangbei and the old woman Tong Zhen. Outside the electrical machinery plant there is only Huo Dadao [7202 1129 6670] who give these matters some attention. But everybody else, from high up in the party committee to the cadres and masses down below, all hanker after unhealthy tendencies, "entering by the back door," securing advantages by personal influences, all without any sense of responsibility for the realization of the Four Modernizations!

Good Heavens! Must everyone not immediately prostrate oneself before a hero like Qiao, on whom the hopes of party and state rest, and implore him to bring salvation?

After the above article was written, I read the review of "Plant Director Qiao Assumes Office" in the RENMIN RIBAO [PEOPLE'S DAILY] of 3 September. I don't want to deal here for the time being with the actual arguments but wish to point out only one thing. The article says: "The author already published, at the beginning of 1976, the excellent short story "One Day of the Electrical Machinery Plant Director." In the filthy atmosphere of the "gang of four" and its servile hack writers who arbitrarily criticized the so-called "theory of production" and clamored for "militant writings against the capitalist-roaders," this author dared to sing the praises of a socialist man of action on the industrial front, resembling Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389], and is indeed worthy of our esteem." One can't help laughing at such an evaluation which is fundamentally in variance with the facts and completely unprincipled! A critic must be trusted to have a serious attitude. We shall deal in a later article with the true facts and explain our viewpoint.

8453

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

INNER MONGOLIAN LEAGUE HOLDS TRUTH CRITERION FORUM

Huhot NEI MONGGOL RIBAO in Chinese 12 Oct 79 p 1

[Article by Xu Shiming [1776 0013 2494], Dai Qin [1486 2953] and Liu Taohe [0491 0340 0735]: "Uphold the Criterion of Truth, Continue to Emancipate the Mind"]

[Text] The Communist Party Committee of the Ju Ud League recently convened a forum on the criterion of truth. Besides the standing committee of the league's party committee, participants included banner and county secretaries in charge of political work and propaganda, propaganda department heads and organizational department heads, as well as secretaries of discipline committees. Some basic units who had done well in developing discussions on the criterion of truth were also invited to present their experiences. In the discussions, everyone spoke his mind freely and linked this with reality. They carried out an analytical discussion aimed at the continuing existence of the two "whatevers" viewpoint in some people's minds even since the Third Plenary Session. Everyone felt that we must criticize and repudiate in a big way the ultra-left line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," shake off the bonds of "book worship," continue to emancipate our minds and put the discussion of the criterion of truth into practice, so as to unify the thinking of all cadres and masses as soon as possible in the spirit of the Third Plenary Session and the Second Session of the Fifth National Congress.

Since the Ju Ud League districts began the discussions on the question of the criterion of truth in August of last year, they have held several seminars, background and guidance meetings and study classes of various types. This has promoted the emancipation of the minds of the cadres and masses, broken through many forbidden zones set up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," resolved some questions left over by history and propelled the implementation of the party's economic policies for rural and pastoral areas. This discussion has therefore yielded some preliminary results and had a very large effect on practical work. However, just when the discussion was being deepened further, a cold "whatever" wind blew in society. Some people felt that the discussion of the criterion of truth had gone too far and was rightist and one-sided. They also felt that upholding the four fundamental principles conflicts with the discussion on the criterion of truth. A left-wing trend of thought again gained some ground and confused the thinking of

some of the cadres and masses. As a result this discussion developed for a time merely in the realm of theory and among the leadership at the county level and above, while it stopped in the majority of basic units because they still had no way of doing it. In their analytical discussion, comrades pointed out that the reason for this is that the ultra-left line is still causing mischief in some people's heads. The "forbidden zones" set up by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still severely fetter people's heads. They go by the so-called "book." Anything which is not in the "book" cannot be said and cannot be done. "Book worship" seriously impedes the emancipation of people's minds.

Directing themselves at this question, the comrades in their speeches linked their remarks to the reality of the struggle between the two lines in the districts of Ju Ud League, pointing out that the modern superstition carried out in the past in a big way by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," where they used "book worship" to replace Marxism, ossified people's brains. At that time, if something was said in a document it had to be acted upon resolutely. If it was not in a document, one did not even dare think it. As a result, an ultra-left trend of thought flooded everywhere and class struggle replaced everything, pounded away at everything. This caused the Ju Ud League districts to suffer an unprecedented calamity, with severe damage in all realms from the superstructure to the economic base.

In their speeches, the comrades said with deep understanding that in the past we suffered from "book worship" and did not understand how to use the viewpoint of practice to analyze matters. Because of this, we also could not use correct knowledge in our practical work to lead that work. This caused losses in the various items of our work. Facts show that indiscriminate imitation is not in accordance with the work style of seeking truth from facts and integrating theory with practice which was consistently advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. Because of this, in practical work it runs up against a stone wall everywhere.

The discussion made all the cadres further comprehend the great significance of continuing to develop the discussion on the criterion of truth. It straightened out their thinking and understanding. They resolved to deepen this discussion and make up missed lessons in their practical work. They also further understood that the great problem at present in ideological line is still that we must continue to criticize and repudiate the ultra-left line and disentangle ourselves from "book worship."

11723
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

CORRECT CLASS RELATIONSHIPS IMPORTANT FOR FARM PRODUCTION

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 13 Sep 79 p 1

[News report by Zhang Guoqiang [1728 0948 1730] and Qian Qiaosheng [6929 1564 3932]: "Correctly Analyze Class Relationships in Rural Areas"]

[Text] Through discussion of the truth criterion, the party committee of the "One July" Commune, Shanghai County, has eliminated the ideological line of subjectivism, correctly analyzed the changes in rural class relationships, and consciously implemented the party Central Committee's decisions regarding the removal of landlord and rich peasant labels as well as the status of children of landlord and rich peasant families.

Since January of this year, when the CCP Central Committee decided on removing the labels of landlords and rich peasants and on the status of their children, some cadres and masses of the commune have entertained many different opinions. Some believed that if the labels of landlords and rich peasants were removed, the key link of class struggle would be abandoned. As a result, without class struggle we would become a "state of the whole people," etc. To counter this confused thinking, the commune party committee has led the cadres and masses to use the weapon of practice being the sole criterion for testing truth and to analyze the rural class relationships on the basis of seeking truth from facts and on actual conditions, as well as the actual manifestations of landlords and rich peasants. Through factual exposition and reasoning, all have begun to realize clearly that after the land reform and the mutual aid and cooperation programs, in the rural areas at present the landlords and rich peasants have lost their ownership of the means of production for exploitation of the peasants, and after more than 20 years of supervised reform the great majority of them have become honest workers, obeying government decrees and living on the fruits of their own labor. Also, their children are basically commune members. Through this type of analysis all feel that the party Central Committee's decisions to remove the labels of landlords and rich peasants and to change the status of their children are completely consistent with the actual

conditions presently existing in the rural areas and that such decisions represent the victory of the broad masses of poor and lower middle peasants in implementing party policies on supervision and reform of landlords and rich peasants. Some cadres said that class relationships in rural areas have been changing for a long time. However, owing to interference from the extreme leftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," we still consider that "this class still exists" just like an "onion under the eave--the root can be scorched and the leaves rotted away, but the core does not die." These views obviously do not agree with the present objective conditions. By discussing the truth criterion and correcting the ideological line, the commune quickly and thoroughly carried out the policy of removing the labels of landlords and rich peasants. With the approval of the higher level and the judgment of the masses, the commune removed the subversive labels of landlords and rich peasants from 182 persons and changed the status of 473 of their children.

The delabeled landlords and rich peasants have become new commune members and show enthusiasm. However, there are individuals who complain about the long period of time in the past when they were investigated, criticized and denounced, and they grumble a bit. As a result, some comrades have doubts about the thorough implementation of this party policy. To deal with this situation, the commune party committee organized everybody to launch discussions on the truth criterion and on testing opinions against practice. In the discussion three basic facts were brought out about the implementation of this policy. First, the enthusiasm of many people has been mobilized, not just the delabeled persons but their children and family members. There was a rich peasant in the No 3 Production Team of the Qibao Production Brigade who possessed some technical knowledge about tomato growing but never applied his knowledge while he was labeled. After delabeling, however, his enthusiasm for production ran high and he improved the technique of using liquid chemicals for tomato growing and taught other production teams and members the technique. His actions were welcomed by the cadres and commune members. Second, this is another step to promote stability and unity. In the past owing to the ultraleftist line of the "gang of four," each year, during festivals or the three busy seasons, landlords and rich peasants, whether hard working and law abiding or not, were always brought out and reprimanded, and even their children had unwarranted charges made against them and were arbitrarily criticized and denounced. As a result, antagonistic feelings were generated among these persons. Since implementation of the delabeling policy, this feeling of antagonism has disappeared, and everybody works together with a common purpose to rapidly develop agricultural and subsidiary production. Third, with the emancipation of thinking, talent has been uncovered. In the No 2 Production Team of the Haoshang Production Brigade, there was a rich peasant's son who had demonstrated a better than average potential but had not fully utilized it owing to the influence of the reactionary "theory of family lineage" promoted by the "gang of four." Since the delabeling

policy, however, the masses have elected him to become head of the production team. As a result, the unity of the team, the enthusiasm of its members, and its production have been raised. This year, the team's wheat production per mu reached 735 jin, an increase of more than 30 percent over that of last year, and its early rice crop had a yield of almost 900 jin per mu. From these facts and correction of the ideological line, all of us realize that the policy of removing landlord and rich peasant labels is entirely consistent with the changes in present-day rural class relationships. That some delabeled elements are still complaining is a problem of education, not a programmatic issue.

Through reviewing numerous facts in connection with implementation of the party's delabeling policy and discussions of the truth criterion, the commune party committee has acquired a deeper understanding of the decisions made by the party Third Plenum and has realized the great importance of discussions of the truth criterion. Therefore, the commune party committee is determined to further mobilize all commune cadres and members for truth criterion discussions, summarization of historical experience, complete elimination of the poison and influence of the ultraleftist line, strengthening of the correct ideological line, and thorough implementation of the general and specific policies and all tasks set by the Third Plenum and of the Second Session of the Fifth NPC concerning agricultural production without any deviation.

6178-R
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

EDITORIAL CLAIMS THIRD PLENUM DID NOT NEGATE MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 27 Sep 79 p 1

[Editorial: "The Most Basic Element in Bringing Order Out of Chaos"]

[Text] The recent propaganda work conference convened by the Beijing Municipal CCP Committee was very successful. After the conference, party committees at all levels should conscientiously carry out the spirit of the conference and should universally and deeply introduce the make-up lessons they learned about the discussion of the truth criterion throughout the city.

Since the Third Plenum of the 11th Central Committee, the vast majority of the masses in Beijing Municipality have supported the line and the general and specific policies of the plenum. In all our work, we have brought order out of chaos and unceasingly eliminated the pernicious influence and effects of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," thus promoting the work. However, we also have to understand that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" had been distorting and misinterpreting Mao Zedong Thought for a long period of time. Their ultraleftist policies and the idealism and metaphysics they peddled still fetter people's minds. There is a minority who do not have a true understanding of the line and the general and specific policies of the Third Plenum. Some have embraced "bookishness." Others have gone so far as to believe that if they do not follow "the book," this is tantamount to "chopping down the banner." In previous sessions, our cadres did not grasp tightly enough ideological education, and they did not develop a sufficiently balanced discussion of the truth criterion throughout the city. Facts make clear that in exposing and criticizing Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and in carrying out the spirit of the Third Plenum, it is not enough to merely take a series of concrete actions. We must grasp the thing which is most basic, that is, we must grasp the central link of the correct ideological line, the "master switch" which provides the ideological foundation for the realization of the political line of the Four Modernizations. This is the most basic element in bringing order out of chaos. Once we grasp whether the ideological line is true or false, we can clearly distinguish true "raising high" from false "raising high"

and can then move forward in the task of mopping up the pernicious influence spread by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and promote the Four Modernizations.

Mao Zedong Thought is a product of a combination of the universal truths of Marxism and the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The quintessence of Mao Zedong Thought is proceeding from reality in all things, seeking truth from facts, and integrating theory with reality. We know that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were a bunch of counter-revolutionary conspirators. They promoted the ultraleftist line and did great damage to the country for 10 long years. That they were able to gain fame by deceiving the public and run wild for a time can be credited to the counterrevolutionary, double-faced tactics they employed. On the surface, they upheld the banner of Mao Zedong Thought; in actuality, they knew no limits in their efforts to twist and distort it. In essence, they emasculated the soul of Mao Zedong Thought, discarding entirely the principles of proceeding from reality in all things, seeking truth from facts, and integrating theory with reality. They turned a live and vital revolutionary theory into a lifeless dogma. By repressing the people's thinking, they were able to peddle their seditious schemes. Comrade Mao Zedong had a firm grasp of the fundamental problem inherent in the idealist and metaphysical ideological line promoted by them and engaged in a tit-for-tat struggle against them. At the end of 1967, Comrade Mao Zedong criticized the so-called "theory of absolute authority." During the Second Plenum of the party's Ninth Central Committee, he voiced his objections to Lin Biao's "theory of innate genius." Later, he also criticized many times fallacies such as "every sentence contains more weight than ten thousand ordinary sentences" propagated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." In 1974, during the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius, Comrade Mao pointed out the "rampant metaphysics" of the "gang of four." In 1975, he criticized "making anti-empiricism the key link" as well as the metaphysical thinking behind the notion that "gold must be 24 karat, man must be perfect," etc. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the thinking of a great number of cadres and masses were liberated, and they demanded that order be brought out of chaos and that the topsy-turvy position of right and wrong be reversed, restoring the original form of Mao Zedong Thought. The leading cadres of the party Central Committee asked that the scientific system embodied in Mao Zedong Thought be fully and correctly understood and applied. Accordingly, there ensued a nationwide discussion on "practice being the sole criterion for testing truth." The real issue in this discussion is to decide whether or not the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" should be exposed and criticized, and whether or not it is necessary to bring order out of chaos. The issue is very clear. The discussion on practice being the sole criterion for testing truth and the restoration of the ideological line of dialectical materialism are measures reflecting the fundamentals of Mao Zedong Thought. To carry out these measures is to truly raise high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought. Lin Biao and

the "gang of four" peddled idealism and metaphysics and discarded the essence of Mao Zedong Thought. They pretended to raise high the banner but, in truth, chopped it down.

The ideological line determines the basis of the political line. It was only after the smashing of the "gang of four" and the subsequent restoration of the ideological line of dialectical materialism that we were able, during the Third Plenum, to solve a series of important problems left to us by history, to alter and adjust a number of past slogans, political appraisals, theoretical concepts, and general and specific policies which did not agree with objective reality, and to make decisions which allowed the party to shift the emphasis of its work. The political line taken by the Third Plenum did not fall upon us from heaven, and neither did it arise from the thinking of any one individual, but was based on the scientific conclusions resulting from a synthesis of empirically verified lessons such as practice being the sole criterion for testing, seeking truth from facts, and proceeding from reality to study new conditions and new problems. This is not to say that we have abandoned Mao Zedong Thought. Indeed, what we have derived is a product of a combination of the fundamental principles of Mao Zedong Thought and the concrete lessons learned from the construction of the Four Modernizations. This is not "abstract affirmation, concrete negation," but truly affirms the truth and corrects errors. The political line taken by the Third Plenum is the same as the revolutionary line taken by Chairman Mao. The Third Plenum truly raised high the great banner of Mao Zedong Thought.

It is a fundamental project of the party to solve problems of ideological line. Only after we correct the ideological line will we be able to formulate and thoroughly carry out the correct political line and organizational line and strengthen the party spirit. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, "The absence of a scientific outlook means an absence of the unified outlook of theory and practice embodied in Marxism-Leninism. This could be called a lack of party spirit or an incomplete party spirit." Only after we communists achieve the world view of dialectical materialism can we perceive the historical mission of the proletariat, which is to devote our lives, without any selfish considerations, to the cause of truth and class. Many of our cadres and party members have strong and deep feelings for our party and our leader. This is commendable. However, during the course of complicated struggles, we cannot do things well by relying only on simple feelings, and we can even be duped and deceived if we do so. Commenting on the materialism of natural science, Lenin noted that this type of materialism was a "spontaneous, unconscious, formless, and philosophically spiritless belief." It is a fruitless flower which cannot withstand attacks from idealistic theories. The same is true of simple feelings. We need only to arm ourselves with the theories of Marxism-Leninism to become conscious dialectical materialists. Therefore, applying the lessons learned from the discussion of the truth criterion, and advancing in the study and

education of the ideological line of dialectical materialism, is the most fundamental element in bringing order out of chaos and is the long-range plan for building the party, and has profound significance. Following the Yan'an rectification, the ideological line of the party was resolved, everything went smoothly, the democratic revolution was victorious, and the country took the path of socialism. The recent discussion of the truth criterion and the correction of the ideological line has made both party members and the masses able to understand the reason for proceeding from reality in all things, seeking truth from facts, and integrating theory with reality. It has consolidated and developed the situation of stability and unity and has allowed the Four Modernizations to proceed smoothly. This will be an extraordinarily great event in the history of our party and in the history of socialism in our country.

All cadres, all party members, and all people of this city, let us pick up the weapon of the ideological line of dialectical materialism, which sweeps all before it, and struggle courageously to advance toward the great goal of the Four Modernizations.

9519-R
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

NEI MONGGOL REHABILITATES FORMER 5TH CAVALRY DIVISION

Huhhot NEI MONGGOL RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 79 p 1

[Article by the Military District Policy Implementation Office: "Thoroughly Rehabilitate the Former Nei Monggol 5th Cavalry Division"]

[Text] Not long ago, a certain unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army held a solemn mass rehabilitation meeting at the place where it is stationed. Comrade Ting Mao, 2nd secretary of the autonomous region party committee and 2nd political commissar of the Nei Monggol Military District presided over the meeting and gave a speech. Comrade Liu Chang, political commissar of the Nei Monggol Military District read out the resolution of the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region Party Committee and the Nei Monggol Military District Party Committee to thoroughly rehabilitate the former Nei Monggol 5th Cavalry Division.

In the resolution it was pointed out: The former Nei Monggol 5th Cavalry Division of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (that is, a certain unit) was formed in 1952 by reorganizing five cavalry divisions in Nei Monggol. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, this unit wrote a glorious history with two decades of brave struggle under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. During the era of the War of Liberation it fought in the broad theaters of operation in the northeast and north China, participated in the famous Liaoxi-Shenyang, Beiping-Tianjin and north Suiyuan campaigns and in all of the battles to liberate and defend the vast areas of Nei Monggol, thereby making a due contribution to the task of liberating the people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol. After the founding of the nation, it actively participated in the struggles to suppress bandits and local despots and in the work to reform the [Nationalist] troops which had come over. It supported the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea by transferring and training a large number of military horses for the volunteers. Three times it came to the capital to participate in National Day ceremonies and was happy to be reviewed by Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Commander-in-Chief Zhu and the people of various nationalities. From 1958 to 1961 it acted on orders from the Military Commission to participate in putting down the rebellions in Qinghai and Xizang. Together with fraternal units, it guaranteed the victory of democratic reform in the Qinghai and Xizang areas and safeguarded the

peaceful unification of the homeland and its national unity. During the Cultural Revolution it resolutely resisted and struggled against the ultra-Left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four.

The resolution points out that facts show that the former Nei Monggol 5th Cavalry Division was loyal to the Party and to the people. It was a brave unit which warmly loved its homeland, an inseparable and integral component of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. In this unit, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line occupied the guiding role from beginning to end. The vast majority of officers and soldiers were good or relatively good. Many advanced collectives and brave models came to the fore. During the protracted revolutionary struggle, this unit forged revolutionary bonds of friendship with the people of various nationalities in Nei Monggol Autonomous Region, sharing life and death like flesh and blood. It established extremely close relationships between the army and the government and between the army and the people, training and providing large numbers of key personnel on the various fronts in the autonomous region. It made its own contributions to defending and building up the borders.

At the same time, the resolution points that it was just this kind of a brave unit with a glorious history which was cruelly persecuted during the Cultural Revolution by the ultra-Left line of Lin Biao and the gang of four and the feudal fascism which accompanied it. They vilified the 5th Cavalry Division as the "palace guard of the Ulanhu anti-Party clique," branded the Party committees of the battalion and regiments as "Party committees of the Nei Monggol People's Party [nei ren dang: 0355 0086 7825--word play on "wifey Party"]," branded some company Party branches as "Nei Monggol People's Party branches" and vilified brave model companies and individuals as "sinister models." A large number of cadres and soldiers came under suspicion or were persecuted. Many comrades were injured, and five died uncleared of false charges. Many dependents were implicated. A number of comrades who had worked in this unit were affected. This seriously damaged the unity of the Party, of the troops and of the nationalities and weakened the ranks.

The resolution noted that although in 1969 Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou discovered and corrected the "dig up and mop up campaign" and issued the "22 May" instructions, the poisonous influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" prevented unjust charges such as "New Nei Monggol People's Party" from being correctly handled, prevented the Party's policies from being truly implemented, and prevented the fame of the 5th Cavalry Division from being restored. The Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng has raised high the banner of Chairman Mao and issued the "20 April" and "21 January" instructions. Only then were the three great unjust charges which were drummed up in Nei Monggol by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" thoroughly reversed. To further carry out the Party's policies, strengthen unity in various fields, mobilize all positive factors and strengthen military building, the resolution pointed out:

One: Thoroughly rehabilitate the former 5th Cavalry Division. Repudiate all slanders and libels which were planted in the minds of the troops and soldiers such as "palace guard," "Nei Monggol People's Party Party Committee" and "Nei Monggol People's Party branch." Rehabilitate all persecuted and implicated cadres, soldiers, staff and workers and dependents, as well as those comrades who were affected because they had worked in the unit.

Two: Thoroughly rehabilitate the 290 comrades who were branded as the "New Nei Monggol People's Party," such as Xida, Namu, Hurlebagen and Zhang Fenglin, together with other victims. Repudiate all slanders and libels about them and burn all pertinent materials.

Three: Thoroughly rehabilitate and exonerate the five comrades who were persecuted to death: Liang Yushan, Lagacha, Youlesong, Sangjiezhabu and Erdun Bayar. Recognize them as true martyrs, console and compensate their dependent children and make suitable arrangements for their work and daily living.

Four: Restore the glorious designations of the brave model companies and the political reputations of the brave model personages. Regularly carry out education on their glorious traditions and popularize in a big way the glorious history of the unit and its brave model deeds.

Finally, the resolution stressed that at present our country is in the process of rehabilitation from the catastrophe wrought by Lin Biao and the gang of four. The entire nation, with one heart and mind, has begun to advance towards the four socialist modernizations. The situation is very good. The future is boundless and bright. We hope that the entire body of commanders and fighters of this unit will raise high the banner of Mao Zedong Thought, resolutely and unswervingly continue to carry out the spirit of the Third Plenum and persist in the ideological line that practice is the sole criterion for testing truth; that they will keep to the socialist road, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the leadership of the Party and to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; that they will carry out reeducation in the nationalities policy; and that they will continue to pay close and good attention to carrying out policies, actively and voluntarily resolving well any remaining matters concerning the three unjust charges. They should consider the entire situation and recognize the larger collective, and look forward in a united way; develop the revolutionary tradition and learn from our heroes in the self-defensive counterattack on the Sino-Vietnamese border; and raise their vigilance, strengthen preparations against war and actively participate and resolutely defend the socialist four modernizations, so as to ensure the safety of our country's northern borders and make new contributions towards accelerating the revolutionization and modernization of the unit!

11723
CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

OBSTRUCTING IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY ON PRIVATE PLOTS CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Oct 79 p 2

[Article: "Criticize the Sixth Brigade of Dongwang Commune for Its Thwarting the Implementation of the Policy Governing Private Plots"]

[Text] On 10 October, HEBEI RIBAO carried a news story on "The bogus democracy employed in handling private plots by authorities of the Sixth Brigade of Dongwang Commune in Ningjin County, who hoodwinked the commune members by manufacturing false evidence with fingerprints," as well as a commentator's article entitled "Management of Private Plots Should Reflect the Wishes of Commune Members."

Here is the story: This reporter recently made a special trip to Dongwang Commune in Ningjin County to understand the implementation of private plots. I discovered that none of the private plots there had been returned to the commune members as they were all still being run collectively. Zhang Shaocheng, deputy secretary of the commune and chairman of its revolutionary committee, explained to this reporter: "Here in our Dongwang Commune, the grain output is larger with more than 580 jin per mu yield, and the commune members have all 'agreed' to the idea of collectively running private plots. Such is exactly the case with the Sixth Brigade, the best production unit in the Dongwang Commune. Why don't you get there and find out yourself." Then I went to the Sixth Brigade of Dongwang where I was briefed by Zhao Minghua, deputy secretary of the party branch, and by Liu Jinbiao, the treasurer: "The average wage rate of our brigade workers is over .60 yuan, and all of our commune members here have 'agreed' to the collective farming on private plots. You don't believe me? Just take a look at these." They promptly pulled out a pile of "signed documents" from a filing cabinet. Surely there are, in black and white, all the signatures and red fingerprints thickly dotted on sheets upon sheets of paper with words clearly indicating their "consent" to the collective management of private plots.

In the daytime, this reporter casually chatted with the commune members in the autumn-harvested fields, and on the vegetable farms and threshing grounds. Then in the evening I called on them from door to door meticulously getting to the bottom of things. My firsthand investigation turned out to be

just the opposite from the situation stated by the commune and cadres. Over 90 percent of the commune members preferred to cultivate their own private plots. I then asked them why they had put their thumbprints on those "signed documents" to "consent" to collective farming. Some commune members replied: "It was a trap set by the cadres; I was just compelled to take what's given in silence like a dumb person tasting bitter herbs!" Like the situation in all the other communes during that period when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" really ran wild, the Dongwang No 6 Brigade was prompted to vigorously sever the "tail of capitalism" by confiscating her members' private plots.

Finally, upon receiving the "two documents" on agricultural policy from the Party Central Committee, the commune members were thrilled and elated, hoping for the early return of their private plots, and then by this spring, the brigade's leading cadres brought back this message as they returned from the county-wide general meeting: "Commune members can now start to discuss the issue of private plots; it will be entirely your free choice either to stick to collective farming or to till your own lands." Accordingly, the commune members went into a series of long discussions of it among themselves; and came up with this consensus: Except those families with no labor force as well as a small number of cadres, most of our members are now in full agreement to start working their own plots. As soon as the brigade's leading cadres learned that the discussion had "departed from the correct line," they threw in three "additional clauses": First, no guarantee shall be given on allocated plots in terms of their vicinity and crop-yielding capacity. Second, families concerned shall share expenses in purchasing their jointly drilled motor-pumped wells each of which costs over 2,000 yuan. And third, provision of farm machinery and chemical fertilizer shall be the responsibility of members themselves rather than that of the brigade. Realizing that it would be futile to farm on those private plots with such strings deliberately attached, they all said they simply wanted to forget it. Seizing the situation, the brigade's leading cadres immediately announced: Those who don't want to be allocated any private plots must submit "signed documents" with written words attached to testify their "consent" to collective farming. However, Jiang Heiji, a member of the Sixth Production Brigade, thus grumbled: "I'll take any sort of land they give no matter if it's remote land or flood land or even a corner of a stockaded village wall! I'll plant trees there if it doesn't yield crops; and if trees won't grow, I can at least plant some grass to raise sheep." He was approached and worked on repeatedly by the commune secretaries and the brigade cadres who were assigned there on special mission to oversee things: "You are a disabled soldier, third class, why don't you take a lead and set a good example!" He was finally persuaded to submit a "signed document" in black and white.

Nowadays, the commune members put it this way: There is no rain without clouds; things just wouldn't have turned out that bad without certain causes: First, members only take their cue from their supervisors while they should have followed party policies. Second, some cadres realized

that farming collectively on the same land violated the principle of those two agricultural documents; so, they had to get some kind of "certificate" on file, thus leaving room for maneuver. And third, some chief cadres themselves would just take collective farming simply because they would always end up getting a share of the profit whether or not they actually worked.

The issue of private plots has now become a hot topic of discussion among the Dongwang Commune members. Filled with pent-up vexation, they grumbled to me during my visit there: "After all, when will they carry out the policy of returning private plots to us?"

As pointed out in a HEIBEI RIBAO commentator's article: There are many places where the policy on private plots still has not been put into effect. With no intent to allocate any private plots to their commune members and under the guise of "mass discussion," some cadres forced the great masses to submit "signed documents" clarifying their position; in an effort to hinder and interfere with the commune members in working their private plots; some chief cadres even maintained: "Members of rich brigades just wouldn't care to run private plots;" and in some places, the cadres just create all sorts of obstacles for the commune members. Judging from all these, we can once again discern the grave consequences of the pernicious influence of the ultra-"Left" line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and we are now certain that although the problem is seen at the grassroots level, its roots lay with the upper level. Settlement of the management of private plots should truly reflect the wishes of the great masses, and leading cadres at all levels in rural areas must make conscientious efforts to implement the party's policies.

9442

CSO: 4005

PARTY AND STATE

MARX'S THEORY OF 'SMASHING THE BOURGEOIS STATE APPARATUS' DISCUSSED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 9, 15 Sep 79
pp 25-30

[Article by Ho Jinrui [0149 2516 3843]: "Did K. Marx Draw His Conclusion on 'Smashing the Bourgeois State Apparatus' From the Experience of the Paris Commune?"]

[Text] It is a fundamental point of the Marxist theory of the state that the proletariat must smash and overthrow the bourgeois state apparatus. Only if the proletariat, and its political party, grasp this point in their struggle practice, will they turn the theory of scientific socialism into reality. This conclusion is so important that Marx and Engels, after the Paris Commune, included it as an important "correction" in the preface to the 1872 German edition of the Communist Manifesto. However, during the last 20 years, many articles in our newspapers and periodicals have elaborated not quite correctly on the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus, and the impressions of these articles have never been cleared up. There is a need, therefore, to submit this question to a discussion, as follows:

1. The Conclusion on "Smashing the Bourgeois State Apparatus" did not Derive From the Experiences of the Paris Commune

Class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to Lenin's explanation, here "the formula 'proletarian dictatorship' is but a more historically concrete and more scientifically exact formulation of the task of the proletariat to 'smash the bourgeois state apparatus.'" ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 621) Since the establishment of New China, over 150 articles in books and periodicals have been published in commemoration of the Paris Commune. The majority of those that wrote about the experiences of the Paris Commune together with the dictatorship of the proletariat, mistakenly interpreted the "smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus" as a conclusion that was only arrived at out of the experiences of the Paris Commune. In the following we shall briefly quote some representative statements of this nature:

The RENMIN RIBAO [PEOPLE'S DAILY] of 18 March 1961 published an article by Zhang Zhongshi [1728 0112 1395], "The Paris Commune and the Growth of Marxism-Leninism," in which he says: "Marx and Engels...gained several important conclusions from the experience of the Paris Commune. These conclusions were: Firstly, the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made bourgeois state machine and wield it for its own purposes. That means, the proletariat must use revolutionary means to seize state power, smash the bourgeois military and bureaucratic apparatus and build up the proletarian dictatorship that is to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie."

In 1963, the Editorial and Translation Bureau of the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin said in the postscript to the "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," in Chinese translation, Vol 17 p 908: "In this article (i.e. "The Civil War in France") Marx expressed the conclusion derived from the experience of the Paris Commune: 'The workers cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes,' but must smash it and replace it with its own proletarian state."

The HONGQI [RED FLAG] in its No 9 of 1969 published an article by Qi Yonghong [7871 3057 4761], "Constantly Bear in Mind the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," in which he said: "From the practical experiences of the Paris Commune, Marx drew the conclusion, 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes.' It must use the means of brutal revolutionary force, smash the bourgeois state apparatus and build up the proletarian dictatorship."

In its first issue in 1976, the LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] published an article by Cao Tejin [2580 3676 6855] and Zhang Hongru [1728 1347 0320], "The Shameful Renegades of the Paris Commune--Criticizing Soviet Revisionism for its Distortions of the Historical Experience of the Paris Commune," in which they said: "Everybody knows, smashing and destroying the old bourgeois state apparatus and replacing the bourgeois dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most important conclusion that Marx and Engels drew from a summing up of the historical experiences of the Paris Commune."

The GUANGMING RIBAO of 17 March 1976 published an article by Zheng Juexi [6774 6030 3556], "Firmly Uphold Continuous Revolution, Always Be a Public Servant of Society--Commemorating the 105th Anniversary of the Paris Commune," in which he said: "The most fundamental experience that Marx derived from a summing up of the revolutionary practice of the Paris Commune was: The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes. They must rather smash and destroy the old state apparatus and replace it with a state of proletarian dictatorship."

The above statements are not correct. The historical fact is: The conclusion on the "smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus" was not derived from the experiences of the Paris Commune.

Please take note of the actual statements made by originators of the theory of the proletarian dictatorship, Marx and Engels. The German preface of the 1872 edition of the Communist Manifesto says: "In view of the actual experiences of the February revolution and the later experiences of the Paris Commune, when for the first time the proletariat had seized state power for 2 months, certain parts of this outline had become out-of-date. The Commune had already proven, in particular: 'The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes.'" ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1 p 229) The authors' use of the phrase "the Commune had already proven" was very precise; the original German read "hat die Kommune den Beweis geliefert," which, directly translated, is "The Commune has provided the proof." This is a concept quite different from the way the books and articles quote it as meaning "a conclusion arrived at from the experiences of the Paris Commune." In actual fact, "arriving at a conclusion" had happened in 1852, and the "conclusion was proven" in 1871; there were 20 years in between the two.

Lenin discussed the historical process by which this conclusion was arrived at in several important articles, such as "State and Revolution" and "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Renegade Kautsky."

"Without first abolishing and destroying the state apparatus, which the bourgeoisie built up for its own purposes, it is absolutely impossible to build up this kind of an organization (referring to an organization to oppose the exceptionally brutal force of the bourgeoisie)! The Communist Manifesto came already close to this conclusion, and Marx already discussed this very conclusion when summing up the experiences of the 1848-1851 revolution." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 192)

"The question of how the proletarian state (viewed in the perspective of the historical development) was to replace the bourgeois state, was actually not brought up here (referring to the Communist Manifesto). It was in 1852 that Marx raised this question as one that required solution." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 194)

"Here (referring to "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte")...he arrived at an extremely precise, affirmative, realistic and concrete conclusion: All past revolutions perfected the state apparatus, but this apparatus should be smashed and destroyed." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 194)

"The course of such events compels the revolution "to concentrate all its forces of destruction against the power of the state and compels the revolution to set forth as its task the destruction and elimination of the state apparatus." This is "based on the vivid experiences during 1848-1951." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 196)

"In 1852, all that could be established with the accuracy of scientific observation was that the proletarian revolution had approached the task of 'concentrating all its forces of destruction' against the state power, of 'smashing' the state machine." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 196)

"From 1852 on, Marx mentioned that the proletarian revolution had the task of 'smashing' the state apparatus." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 263)

"In the 40 years, from 1852 to 1891, Marx and Engels taught the proletariat that it must smash the state apparatus." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 263)

More evidence could be quoted, but the above-quoted evidence is sufficient to prove that the conclusion of the teachers of the proletariat on the "smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus" was not arrived at on the basis of the experiences of the Paris Commune.

How are we then to assess the historical significance of the experiences of the Paris Commune for the scientific conclusion that the bourgeois state apparatus must be smashed?

2. The Conclusion on "Smashing the Bourgeois State Apparatus" Is a Summing Up of the Experiences of the 1848-1851 Revolution and Was Verified by the Experiences of the Paris Commune

The Marxist theory of the state has had its own course of historic development. The Communist Manifesto, which was published on the eve of the French bourgeois revolution of 1848-1851, contains only a general reference to the question of the state and did not yet set forth how the proletarian state was to replace the bourgeois state, because there had been no experiences in that respect.

The practice of the class struggle in France and in Europe impelled further advances in the theory. In his book "The Class Struggle in France, 1848-1850," Marx summed up the lessons from the French class struggle after the February revolution, particularly from the defeat of the June uprising of the Paris proletariat: That the proletariat could improve its own situation within a bourgeois situation is pure fantasy, and attempting to realize this fantasy is a "criminal act," and finally, the slogan that stood for all this was: "Overthrow the Bourgeoisie! Build Up the Dictatorship of the Proletariat!" ("Selected Works of Marx and Lenin" Vol 1 p 417) After criticizing various schools of thought that arose in the course of the revolution, such as bourgeois and petty bourgeois socialism as well as utopian socialism, Marx for the first time mentioned the dictatorship of the proletariat, this highly important formula, and its historical task.

From the end of 1851 to the beginning of 1852, Marx furthermore published his famous work, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in which he used dialectic materialism and historical materialism, which he discovered, these great laws of natural and social development, in the analysis of the contradictions that existed in the capitalist society of those days, the antagonism between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the function of the proletariat in modern society. At the same time he concretely analyzed the actual material presented by France, the country with the sharpest class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie and the classical example of bourgeois rule. He investigated in particular, in very concrete terms, the birth and growth of the French bourgeois state apparatus. Marx pointed out that in France at that time, the highly centralized state power and the bureaucratic and military organization spread over the whole country, were from the start formations that were unable to bring about a reconciliation of the class contradictions. They had originated in autocratic monarchism and had been effective weapons of the newly arising bourgeoisie in its fight against the feudal system. The French revolution of the 18th century paved the way for the establishment of a modern state apparatus, and every royal or imperial regime expanded its diversification of tasks. The suppression of the people in the 1848-1851 revolution strengthened this state apparatus. The empire of Napoleon II developed it to its greatest height. From the above analysis Marx derived his famous conclusion: "Past transformations contributed to the perfection of this apparatus and did not destroy it. All the political parties that vied with each other for power and replaced one another, regarded seizure of the huge state structure as the major spoil of victory." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 1 p 692) For the true meaning of this phrase, see Marx's letter to Kugelmann, 20 years later (at the time of the 1871 Paris Commune): "If you have read the last paragraph of my 'The Eighteenth Brumaire,' you will have seen that in my opinion, in another attempt at a revolution in France, the bureaucratic and military apparatus must not, like the last time, be handed from one group of people to the next group of people, but must be smashed (Marx underlined this word, which in the original text is "zerbrechen"). This is truly a precondition for any genuinely popular revolution on the Continent." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 33 p 206) This conclusion was not derived by any logical deduction but by summing up the experiences of the 1848-1851 French revolution.

The great achievement of the Paris Commune of 1871 consists in its attempt to smash and destroy the bourgeois state apparatus and in producing the concrete shape of a proletarian dictatorship--the shape of the Paris Commune. The Commune finally had appeared as a political form that could bring about the economic freedom of labor. The Paris Commune was indeed the dictatorship of the proletariat and the establishment by the proletariat of its own state machinery, after the French military and bureaucratic apparatus had been smashed and destroyed. In his "The Civil War in France," Marx summed up the practical experience of the Paris Commune and proved

that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes." That means, the apparatus must be smashed and destroyed and replaced by a new apparatus. The reasons are:

(1) On the basis of Marx's consistent viewpoint on the question of the state and of Marx's above-mentioned letter of 12 April 1971 to Kugelmann, Lenin in his "State and Revolution" proved that "Marx's idea was that the working class must smash and destroy 'the ready-made state apparatus' and must not simply take over this apparatus." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 202) Lenin also pointed out: "Just because Marx taught us so, the proletariat must not simply seize the state power, meaning that it must not merely transfer the old state apparatus into the hands of new men, but smash and destroy this structure and replace it with a new structure." ("Selected Works of Lenin" Vol 3 p 269)

(2) As early as 1 January 1848, Engels wrote in a letter to Bernstein: "As to a question you raised regarding one passage in the preface to the Manifesto which quotes from 'The Civil War in France' (this refers to the passage: the working class must not simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes)... This was only to point out the following fact: before the victorious proletariat can use the old bureaucratic and administratively centralized state structure to serve the proletariat's purposes, it must transform them." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 36 p 81) We must reveal the fact, however, that as long as Engels was still alive, Bernstein had certain scruples. Engels died 1895; the next year (1896), Bernstein, claiming for himself to be the "authority" on Marxist theory, could not hold back any longer. In his small booklet "The Preconditions of Socialism and the Tasks of the Social Democratic Party," he not only concealed Engels' letter, but shamelessly distorted Marx's original idea, absurdly stating that with the said phrase Marx was warning the workers not to employ too drastic measures to seize state power.

(3) The most direct proof is what Marx himself said in his "Draft of 'Civil War in France'":

"This revolution (referring to the Paris Commune)...is not a revolution launched to transfer state power from one group to another group. It is a revolution to smash the very body of this evil machinery of the ruling class." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 2 p 411)

"However, the proletariat must not simply lay hold of the ready-made state organs and use them as ready-made tools to achieve its own purposes, as it was done by the ruling class and its various parties when they scrambled for power and profit, and one after the other gained their victories. The first condition of holding power is to transform the traditional machinery of state and destroy it as a tool of class rule." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 2 p 433)

"However, the working class must not simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes. Political tools that had been used to keep them in a state of slavery cannot be used as tools for their liberation." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels" Vol 2 p 434)

The "Draft of 'Civil War in France'" says it as clear as it possibly can be said: Following the above-mentioned famous phrases, there were originally the words "smash" and "destroy" the old state apparatus, but these words were only omitted in the final version. The draft was published in 1934, that is 10 years after Lenin's death. If Lenin had still lived at that time, he would certainly have used this document as effective evidence in his criticism of the Bernstein and Kautsky revolt against the proletarian dictatorship.

If we compare the above-quoted passages from "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" and "The Draft of 'The Civil War in France'", we see the two are not only completely identical in thought but also very similar in formulation. It well explains that from drawing the conclusion in 1842 on "smashing the bourgeois state apparatus" to the verification of this conclusion in the 1871 Paris Commune, there is continuity, in ideological as well as terminological respects, between the two and a sequence of the former to the latter.

3. Conscientiously Read and Study, Endeavor To Promote a Study Style of Seeking Truth From Facts

Conscientiously read and study, completely and correctly understand Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, that means, on the one hand understand completely and correctly the words and the meaning of the writings of Marx and Lenin and the writings of Comrade Mao Zedong, and on the other hand completely and correctly understand its spiritual essence, i.e. its stand, viewpoint and method; and to correctly understand the original meaning, it is a prerequisite to understand the spiritual essence. We assert that the conclusion on "smashing the bourgeois state apparatus" was not "gained" from the experiences of the Paris Commune, but "confirmed" by it. This is not a general picking on words and a philosophy of trivia, but a question of whether it is in accord with the historical facts, and whether the original works are correctly understood, also a question of study style which should follow the principle of seeking truth from facts. Why did some comrades commit misinterpretations on this theoretical question? First of all, because they did not completely understand the words and the original meaning of the original works. Some comrades quoted the phrase "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state apparatus and wield it for its own purposes" merely as having first appeared in "The Civil War in France," but ignored that in essence it is only a new formulation of the original "smash the bourgeois state apparatus." Because "smashing the bourgeois state apparatus" is regarded as the principle of the Paris Commune, it was easily mistaken for a conclusion derived

from the experiences of the Commune. Why did Marx in his "The Civil War in France" attribute his own conclusion to the Commune? We can find the answer in the above-mentioned letter that Engels wrote to Bernstein in 1884. Engels said: "In the book on the French civil war, making the unconscious trend of the Paris Commune (referring to the smashing of the bourgeois state apparatus) to appear as, to some extent, conscious plan and attributing it to the Paris Commune, was proven correct under the conditions of the time, and even necessary." At that time, when the Paris Commune was villified in every possible way by the bourgeoisie of the whole world, the First International, headed by Marx and Engels, published Marx's "Civil War in France," praising the Paris Commune as the truth and exposing Versailles as being full of lies, restored the reputation of the Commune. All that time, Marx's scientific conclusion on "smashing the bourgeois state apparatus" was merely an "unconscious" trend in the minds of the Communards, while Marx made it out to be a conscious plan of the Commune and attributed it to the Commune. This was done out of revolutionary need, to raise the resolve of the proletariat and destroy the authority of the bourgeoisie. Furthermore, because the Communist Manifesto was revised after the experience of the Paris Commune, some comrades assumed for this reason that the conclusion was derived from the experiences of the Commune. The fact is that Marx strictly observed the fundamental viewpoint that "man must confirm the truthfulness of his own thoughts in actual practice," that the conclusion was included in the Communist Manifesto as "its only correction after the Paris Commune had confirmed the conclusion." As Marx saw it, the reason his conclusion on "smashing the bourgeois state apparatus" was truth, was not only due to its elaboration as a scientific summing up of the practical experiences of the 1848-1851 revolution, but also due to its being confirmed in the practical experiences of the 1871 Paris Commune. As in all other respects, the teacher of the proletariat is a model of firmly upholding dialectic materialism and historical materialism and also in his respecting the practical experiences of the revolution of the masses.

8453

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG MILITARY DISTRICT PARTY COMMITTEE STUDIES YE JIANYING SPEECH

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 79 p1

[Article by Tu Bairong [3205 2672 2837] and Cao Shaoye [2580 4801 2814]:
"Modern Superstitions And Go All Out for the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Following the publication of Comrade Ye Jianying's "Speech at the Rally Celebrating the 30th Anniversary of the Founding of the People's Republic of China", the Guangdong Military District Party Committee made a serious study of the speech. On the basis of the spirit of acquiring a complete comprehension of the speech, taking practice as the sole criterion for testing truth, as a tool, summing up experiences and drawing lessons from them and focusing on how to have a broad and accurate understanding of the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought, the committee members have engaged in penetrating discussions, acquired a better understanding of the problems and developed enthusiasm to go all out for the Four Modernizations.

In the process of their study, the Guangdong Military District Party Committee reviewed the 30 year history since the founding of the PRC and especially the course of the struggle since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Everyone felt that comrade Ye Jianying's speech was like a golden key that opened up people's minds. "Leaders are not gods. They are not infallible and therefore should not be deified." This is an item of truth. By presenting the facts and reasoning things out, the comrades have deeply recognized that we must apply historical and developmental viewpoints to everything. For instance, when he was alive, Chairman Mao stressed and advocated certain issues, some of which were appropriate conclusions for the conditions of that time. But now conditions have changed and we should modify the original conclusions in accordance with the changed conditions. We should now supplement and perfect some original conclusions which had certain imperfections. We should now correct some decisions which were made on the basis of erroneous assessment of the objective situation of that time which did not conform to reality. We realize that our love for our revolutionary leaders requires us to always remember their immortal achievements, to safeguard and develop the scientific system of their thoughts and to free ourselves from modern superstitions generated

by Lin Biao and the "gang of four". Everyone pointed out: In order to usurp party and state power, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" utilized our great love for our leader to urge us to idolize him, carried out their conspiracies and spread metaphysical fallacies and superstitions to confuse us, causing great harm. We must eliminate modern superstitions and transform our love for our leaders into practical actions of leading the units and militia in going all out for the Four Modernizations.

The Guangdong Military District Party Committee has acquired a deep understanding of Ye Jianying's instruction stressing that "In a socialist society, it is especially important to correctly understand the mutual relationships between the leaders, masses, classes, government and party." In the past, without a correct understanding of these relationships, we felt uneasy about discussing a revolutionary leader's individual faults and were concerned that correcting such errors and shortcomings would negate his historical achievements. Some old comrades said: In the past, when our leader was still alive, we had felt that some of the things he said were inappropriate and some things he did were incorrect. But as soon as we thought of him as our great benefactor, we didn't want to discuss his mistakes or want others to do the same. After everyone had summed up his experiences and analyzed the cause and harm of such type of thinking, they deeply realized that with regard to revolutionary leaders and their theories, we should not have a bit of mysterious view or be content with "simple class feeling". The latter alone cannot make us become conscious revolutionary fighters. As communists our feelings towards Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought must be established on a scientific foundation and cannot rely on simple class feeling. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" utilized this feeling we had for our leader to deify him and to confine our thinking in a vain attempt to carry out their criminal objectives of usurping party and state power. What a lesson that was!

Combining the study of Comrade Ye Jianying's speech with the study of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, the Guangdong Military District Party Committee vigorously launched discussions on criterion for truth. In light of actual conditions and carrying out analysis, everyone felt that one of the major reasons for the past inability to apply a scientific attitude towards Mao Zedong Thought was due to ideological confinement. Before doing things and thinking over our problems, we had to see what our revolutionary teacher had said or written on the subject. If he had talked about the subject, we followed and did what he said. If he had not talked about it, then nobody would dare to think of, say or do anything. As a result, when basic changes occurred in the situations and tasks and after the shift in emphasis of party, work, the thinking of some comrades was still in an ossified or semi-ossified state. By looking back at this course of history and undergoing studies and discussions, everyone agreed more with the wise and correct line, principles and policies promoted by the Party Central Committee which proceeded from reality, applied the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and were in line with new conditions.

The Guangdong Military District Party Committee is determined to further link work with actual ideological conditions to conduct penetrating studies. Now the party committee has led work groups to go into various basic-level units, and use this as a weapon to arm the minds of cadres and fighters, and unify ideology along the line of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the Central Committee, go all out for the Four Modernizations and raise the work of the units and militia to a new level.

6178-R
CSO:4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'BA YI RADIO' CITES IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AMONG PLA UNITS

OW150256 Ba Yi Radio [clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 14 Nov 79 OW

[Text] PLA units are seriously confused ideologically judging by the condition reflected in the Shanghai and Tianjin garrison commands, Fuzhou PLA units, Beijing PLA units, Kunming PLA units and organs directly under navy headquarters. It is very difficult to give convincing answers to the many questions raised by commanders and fighters during discussions on the criterion of truth. For example: Every year we say that the situation is excellent. Then, why are there more and more difficulties and problems? If the party is great and correct, why has it made so many serious mistakes and failed to make corrections for more than 20 years? If practice is the criterion of truth, why must we uphold the four principles? Is that not setting limits and preconditions for the criterion of truth? Some people say: In the 3 years or so since the downfall of the "gang of four," a series of serious mistakes have been made in all fields, particularly in the economics, but so far no one has publicly examined and admitted the mistakes. Is this not the same kind of idealism that leaders of the party and the state are always wise, great and correct?

Logically these ideological problems should be the focus of current political and ideological work in the units. The study materials selected and compiled by the general political department and the propaganda departments of the various services and arms should also be in connection with ideological confusions. However, these basic ideological problems have not been solved, because under the insistence of comrades Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Feng Wenbin a so-called make-up study campaign has been launched in all provinces, municipalities and PLA units. In appearance it is to deepen the study of the criterion of truth but in reality is an escalation of the struggle in the party. Especially after Vice Premier Deng gave the instruction that the make-up study should focus on criticizing the two "whatevers," even the rank and file can see where the spearhead of the make-up study is directed.

As everyone knows, after the "gang of four" was smashed in November 1976, Comrade Deng Xiaoping wrote to Comrade Hua Guofeng, expressing his desire to resume work. At that time the voices demanding Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement were very strong. On 7 February 1977, a well-known editorial was published under Chairman Hua's instruction. It says, "Resolutely defend all of Chairman Mao's policies, steadfastly abide by all his

instructions." [apparently referring to a joint RENMIN RIBAO, HONGQI and JIEFANGUN BAO editorial XINHUA entitled "Study Documents Well and Grasp Key Link," filed in February 1977 as OW062200Y and add] After that, reports on Comrade Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement disappeared. In fact, the two "whatevers" editorial shut the door to Comrade Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement, because the dismissal of Comrade Deng Xiaoping from all his posts inside and outside the party in 1976 was Chairman Mao's decision, and Deng Xiaoping's reinstatement would be tantamount to trampling underfoot Chairman Mao's decision and betraying Chairman Mao's behest. Later, only after repeated demands and application of pressures by some leading comrades of our army was Comrade Deng Xiaoping's job arranged on the eve of the party's 11th national congress,

When the discussion of the criterion of truth started in May last year, out of consideration for the just accomplished situation of stability and unity, the two "whatevers" were not openly criticized. But now, the two "whatevers" are denounced in every article and every make-up study session, and central leading comrades who were not fiercely attacked during the Cultural Revolution are now being attacked without mentioning names. Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the enlarged meeting of the Standing Committee of the party Central Committee on the eve of the 1 October National Day: "Even in the Central Committee there are people who still cling to modern superstitions and the two 'whatevers' and do not agree with the formulation that truth must be tested through practice." Needless to say this is an obvious allusion to Chairman Hua and Marshal Ye. In their recent speeches and articles, comrades Hu Yaobang and Feng Wenbin have deliberately avoided the words: the party Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua. Needless to say, under such conditions the make-up study on the criterion of truth not only cannot solve ideological problems existing among the troops but will cause even greater ideological confusion.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG MILITARY PARTICIPATE IN SUMMER HARVESTS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jul 79 p 1

[Article by Deng Rongbin [6772 2837 2430] and Xiong Long sheng [3574 7893 0524]: "Guangdong PLA Helps With 'Two Summer' Tasks"]

[Text] The Guangdong Provincial Military District fosters the army's fine tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people, and takes an active part in the work of summer harvest and sowing in the localities. At present, some 13,000 cadres and soldiers and 380 work-teams have been sent out to help the localities with reaping and sowing paddy-rice against time. They have made more than 490 trips with vehicles to transport goods and material for agricultural use, and also sent out medical teams to prevent and cure illness among the peasants.

More than 100 leading cadres of and above the regimental level from army units of the military district came to the first line in participation of the "two summer" tasks. Vice Commander Ma Qinggong [7456 1987 0501], deputy commissar Li Ming [2621 2494] and other leading comrades led the cadres and soldiers to help with the work. From the Guangzhou Garrison Area headquarters, 10 leading comrades, including department heads and those of higher ranks, led more than 100 office cadres, came to the suburbs of Guangzhou municipality and took the shock action of reaping against time. In participation of the "two summer" tasks, the army units organized the broad cadres, soldiers and militiamen to unfold activities of learning from heroes in the counterattack against Vietnam in self defense, and pushed the progress of the "two summer" work. These cadres and soldiers used wired broadcasting, held forums and conducted friendly talks with the masses of commune members to make propaganda for the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth NPC, and to give publicity to the great significance of making a success of the summer reaping and sowing for this year's bumper harvest of agriculture to winning the first battle of the Four Modernizations. Making use of this opportunity of taking part in the "two summer" tasks, all army units also organized their cadres and soldiers to learn from the masses of people, study and understand the present excellent situation in the rural areas, intensify their comprehension of the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and strengthen their confidence in striving for the Four Modernizations of socialism.

9039

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

ARMYMEN HONORED ON 'AUGUST 1' ARMY DAY

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Jul 79 p 1

[Article by Gao Qi [7559 2475] and Jiang Bo [3068 3134]: "Strengthen Unity Between Army and People, Strive for Four Modernizations"]

[Text] On the eve of the "August 1" Army Day, the comfort delegation of Guangdong province carried the high respects and profound affection of all people of the province for their own armymen, and warmly gave comfort to the officers and men of the People's Liberation Army stationed in our province.

The eight groups of the delegation, led by the responsible comrades of local party committees and governments, paid their visits to the Hainan administrative district, the prefectures of Shantou, Huiyang, Shaoguan, Zhanjiang, Foshan and Meixian, the Hainan autonomous prefecture of Li and Miao nationalities and the city of Shaoguan, and warmly comforted the armymen stationed in these places. When the comfort groups arrived at the army units, they received warm welcome. In many places where the army units were stationed, a festive atmosphere permeated throughout, with the decoration of lanterns and festoons and red flags fluttering.

At the army units, the comfort groups held forums with officers and men, gave them letters and gifts and transmitted the sincere concern and expectations of the party, the government and all people of the province toward them. By holding meetings and forums with representatives of heroic fighting collectives and exemplary officers and men, the members of the comfort delegation learned from the Liberation Army and heroes of the Vietnam expedition. The army units also expressed their hearty thanks to the party committees of all levels, the revolutionary committees and the broad masses of people for their active support. All members of the army and government and the people gathered happily together and unanimously pledged that under the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, they were determined to implement the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, learn well the documents of the Second Session of the Fifth NPC, march with one heart and one mind towards the grand goal of the Four Modernizations and strive hard for building our country into a modern power of socialism.

In these localities, some labor models in industry and agriculture, retired veterans of the Red Army and family members of martyrs and soldiers were also invited to the comfort gatherings. On their arrival at the army units, they met with the heroic collective representatives and exemplary officers and men, held intimate talks with them, exchanged their experiences of work in production and of fighting battles, encouraged each other, and made their pledges to maintain modesty and vigilance, refrain from arrogance and impatience, develop the revolutionary traditions and win still greater honors.

Accompanying the comfort delegation on tour were the Guangdong Han Dramatic Institute's troupe, the Guangzhou Peking Opera Group, the Shaoguan Tea-picking Operatic Group, the Meixian Tea-picking Operatic Group and other performing groups, which gave performances to the army officers and men.

On the eve of the "August 1" Army Day, the supporting-the-army comfort delegation of Guangzhou municipality visited the army hospitals in Guangzhou and gave comfort to the wounded and sick members of the People's Liberation Army and the medical personnel.

The eight groups of the comfort delegation were separately led by responsible comrades of the CCP Guangzhou municipal committee and the Guangzhou municipal revolutionary committee, Liang Xiang [2733 3276], Zhong Ming [6945 2494], Du Zhenxiang [2629 4394 4382], Xue Yan [5641 3543], Fan Hua [5400 5478], Lin Xi [2651 6007], Ou Chu [2962 0443] and Yang Yi [2254 3015], and made comfort visits to the army hospital attached to the PLA First Medical College, the Guangzhou Army Units' General Hospital, the Guangzhou Naval Hospital, the Guangzhou Air Force Hospital, the 157 Hospital, the 177 Hospital, the 197 Hospital and the Naval Sanitarium.

The comrades of the comfort delegation toured the wards of the hospitals, and cemented close friendship between the soldiers and the people. The retired veterans of the Red Army, who were invited to comfort gatherings, and the exemplary soldiers warmly encouraged each other. The members of the comfort delegation solicited the medical personnel and the hospitalized officers and men for their suggestions on the work of supporting the army, so that the delegation could promptly solve all problems and strengthen the unity between the army, the government and the people.

9039

CS0: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'RADIO BA YI' URGES SELF-RELIANCE IN MODERNIZING MILITARY EQUIPMENT

OW191113 Ba Yi Radio [clandestine] in Mandarin to China 1400 GMT 18 Nov 79 OW

[Text] As the saying goes, it is better to depend on ourselves than to ask for help. Folks from (Yanan) also have a saying: If you depend on others, they may quit on you and if you lean against a wall, it may fall. All these sayings tell us not to depend on others no matter what we do, from personal or family affairs to regional or national problems, still less in army building or in the building up of national defense.

In the past few years, the general staff department, particularly Comrade Wu Xiuquan, aired the view that we should rely on foreign military technology to improve the military equipment of our army and achieve the modernization of our national defense. On the eve of Chairman Hua's visit to West Europe, Comrade Wu Xiuquan, deputy chief of general staff, said: China plans to catch up with the two superpowers in military equipment. He also said: During the third period of its development, the Chinese People's Liberation Army will improve its equipment and technology by relying on imported arms. Both France and England are willing to sell weapons to us. China plans to import weapons from the industrial powers of the West so as to raise our army's military equipment to a new level over the next 10 years.

Such views do not seem to (?convince) people that we can decide on what weapons to buy or when to buy them from the capitalist and imperialist world. In fact, Chairman Hua's visit to various countries in West Europe indicates that unless we make some major concessions politically or allow munitions merchants to get rich by foul means economically, they will not sell us weapons, particularly modern weapons.

As early as the war of resistance against Japan, Chairman Mao once said: Things have become quite obvious. If we do not ally with socialist countries, we will have to ally with imperialist countries. The inevitable trend is that China has to stand on either this side or that side. In promoting our future work, we must regard neutrality as a deceitful term. The imperialist countries of the West want to oppose the Soviet Union and communism. If you ally with them, they will lord it over you and you will not be able to carry on revolution.

During Chairman Hua's recent visit to West European countries, particularly to key NATO countries, they hinted that their aid to China, military aid in particular, would be decided by the extent to which China intensifies its anti-Soviet policy. In other words, their aid would be decided by how much strength China puts into acting as a "footman" for the West in opposing the Soviet Union and communism. [words indistinct] the price for aids very harsh.

Of course, the modernization of national defense is a task of great strategic significance, and the modernization of weapons and equipment is a major step to modernize national defense. However, in order to modernize our army's weapons and equipment, does it follow that we must have the fundamental interests of our people and country infringed upon and act as a tame instrument of the West? Of course not. If we have to pay that price, we will not achieve true modernization in our national defense.

First of all, the West will never sell us sophisticated weapons. Even if they should sell us these weapons, they would be obsolete by the time we had mastered them. Science and technology gets more and more advanced with each passing day and military scientific research always anticipated the production of weapons. If we do not develop modern weapons and equipment ourselves, our army's weapons and equipment will never catch up with the world's advanced level.

Secondly, buying weapons from other countries means to having a rope tied around our necks. We will have to rely on foreign countries for a supply of spare parts for a long time. Once they stopped supplying us with spare parts for any reason, many advanced weapons would become scrap. The United States has now stopped supplying spare parts to Iran. This is a lesson we should learn.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HAINAN HOLDS MEETINGS OF PUBLIC SECURITY BUREAU CHIEFS

HK201131 Haikou Hainan Island Service in Mandarin 0330 GMT 18 Nov 79 HK

[Summary] The Hainan Public Security Bureau and the Public Security Bureau of the Hainan Autonomous Prefecture of Li and Miao Nationalities recently held meetings of county and municipal public security bureau chiefs to convey and implement the spirit of the national meeting of provincial, municipal and autonomous regional public security bureau chiefs and the Guangdong provincial meeting of prefectural and municipal public security bureau chiefs. "The meetings studied the instructions of Chairman Hua and other leading comrades of the central authorities on public security work." The participants carried out discussions on the criterion of truth in close connection with the reality of public security work, rectified their thinking and understanding and studied issues concerning ways to adapt public security work to the shift of the whole party's work focus and ways to protect the four modernizations.

The meetings noted: "We must do well in making up the missed lessons in the discussion on the criterion of truth among all cadres and policemen, continue to eradicate the influence of the ultraleftist line promoted by Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' and the influence of the 'two whatevers,' further emancipate our minds, change our past habitual struggle forms and work methods which no longer suit the needs of the situation and no longer conform to laws and regulations, make investigations and studies in a deep-going way, strengthen our sense of responsibility to the legal system, strictly run affairs in accordance with the laws and improve our work style and work methods to meet the needs of the new situation of shifting the work focus."

Since this year, all areas in Hainan region have energetically promoted public order and solved some glaring problems in public security. "There is a distinct improvement in the situation of public order in the whole region, which has helped to promote the excellent situation of stability and unity. However, there are still quite a few problems. There are many hidden dangers to public order and factors of instability such as rampant criminal activities and relatively glaring activities in feudal superstition, gathering a crowd to promote gambling and hooliganism. Taking advantage of our shortcomings and mistakes in our work and taking advantage of the unhealthy tendencies of individual cadres, a few evildoers have

flaunted the banner of democracy while instigating disturbances. The major reasons for these problems in public order are that the ultraleftist line promoted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," the anarchism they incited and their pernicious influence of beating, smashing and looting and poisoning the general mood of society have not been completely eradicated. Another reason for the problems is that due to the fact that the national economy has just been rehabilitated, problems in finding jobs for the unemployed remain to be solved by making overall arrangements. Other reasons for the problems include the lagging behind of public security management and the failure to implement measures and promote comprehensive administration."

The conference noted: We must strengthen public security work. We must try in every possible way to crack in a timely manner malignant cases such as homicide, robbery and rape to relentlessly puncture the arrogance of criminals. We must carry out widespread security inspection before and after New Year's Day and the spring festival, plug security holes and safeguard public order to successfully protect the four modernizations,

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

GUANGDONG CIVIL AND AIR DEFENSE LEADING GROUP CONVENES CONFERENCE

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Oct 79 p3

[Article by Huang Qinghuan [7806 1987 3562]: "Be Prepared Against War, Speed Up Civil Air Defense Construction"]

[Text] Recently the Civil Air Defense Leading Group of Guangdong Province convened a conference of responsible persons in civil air defense work from various districts and cities throughout the province. In the conference the province's civil air defense work during the first half of this year was summed up and steps were taken to fully implement the spirit of the Third National Civil Air Defense Conference. As a result, understanding of the strategic significance of civil air defense has been improved, and the general and specific policies as well as missions of civil air defense have been correctly understood. All participants to the conference expressed that we must strengthen our war preparedness and speed up civil air defense construction to effectively prepare for a future war against aggression.

In the conference, such comrades as Provincial Party Committee Secretary Wang Quanguo and Guangdong Military District Political Commissar Xiong Fei heard reports and spoke on strengthening civil air defense work. They stressed that civil air defense is a component of carrying out building in national defense modernization, and that we must heighten, raise our awareness, step up war preparedness, be vigilant in time of peace, take precaution to avert danger, strengthen leadership, seize opportunities, ensure work quality and successfully complete our tasks so as to place our province's civil air defense work among the advanced ranks of our country.

In light of actual local conditions, comrades who participated in the conference discussed the speeches made by leading comrades of the provincial CCP Committee and the Guangdong Military District. In particular, fairly full discussions were conducted on such problems as how to deepen our understanding, strengthen leadership, and set things straight.

Inspired by the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the Second Session of the Fifth NPC, and the Second Session

of the Fifth NPC, the conference participants felt that our province has done large amounts of work and achieved certain results in implementing the spirit of the Third National Civil Air Defense Conference. This year a majority of the cities have completed more than one half of the assigned tasks in more than half a year's time, thus establishing a good foundation to further develop civil air defense undertakings. However, it should also be realized that some leading cadres still have a false sense of peace and security and weak concepts of war preparedness, and do not adequately understand the important strategic significance of civil air defense work. As a consequence, engineering layouts for civil air defense were improper, lacked quality, and did not make rapid progress or proper coordination between peace time and war time arrangements.

In order to build up our province's civil air defense war preparedness and complete this year's mission in both qualitative and quantitative terms, everyone felt that it is necessary to clearly understand the situation and the role and position of civil air defense in modern warfare, and firmly foster the idea of unfailing vigilance and preparation for war.

6178-R

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PAINTINGS DEPICT PRC AIR BASE, MISSILE SITE

Nanning GUANGXI WENYI in Chinese No 7, 1979 p 1

[Text]

[Writing on paintings: "To Soar Through the Wind and Ride the Rain" by Pang Taisong (1690 3141 1529)]



Dawn At the Southern Frontier,
Spring, 1979, Guangxi battle
front. By Taisong



Mountain Rain Begins To Clear,
March, 1979, Nanning, Guangxi,
By Taisong

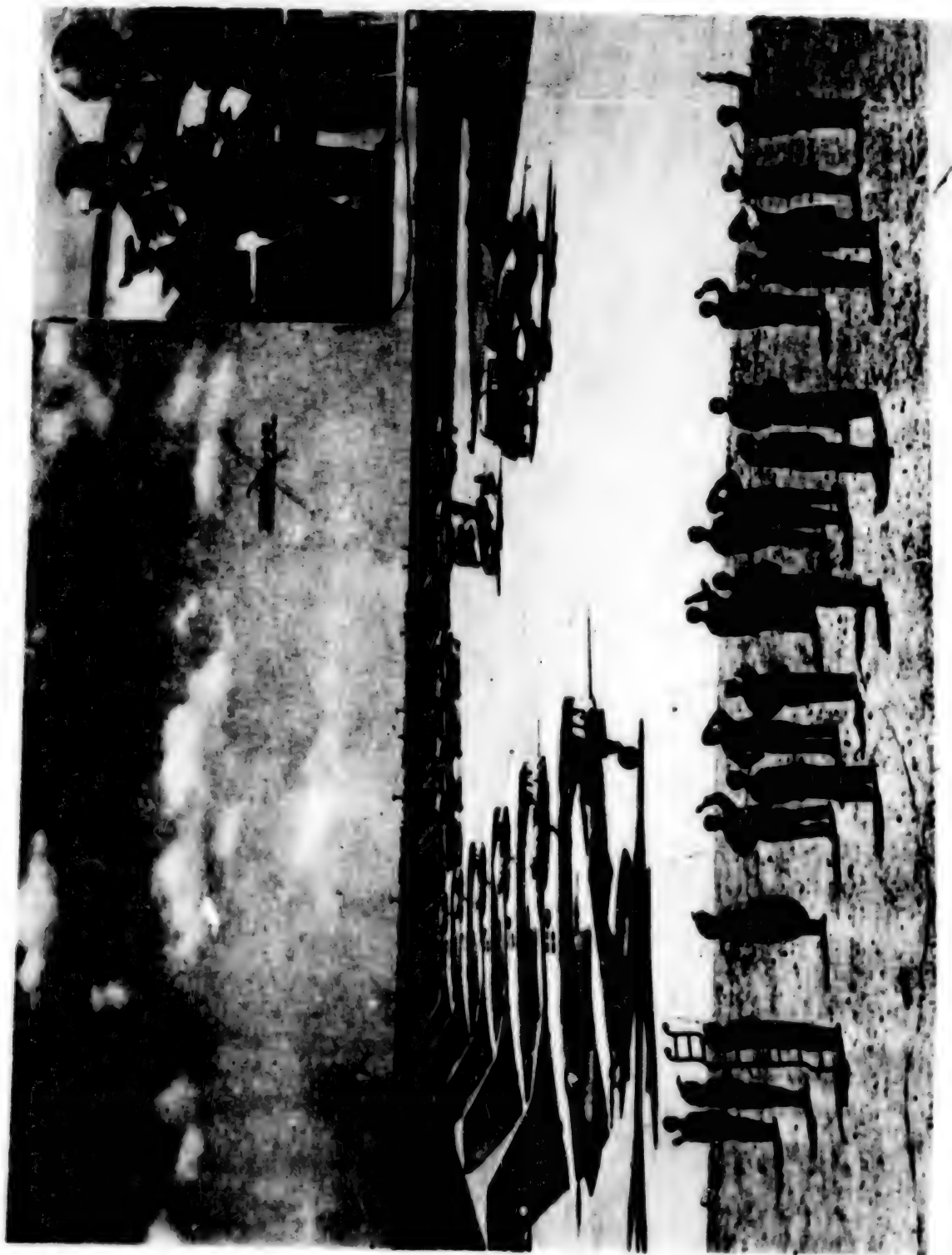
CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

'MINZU HUABAO' PUBLISHES QILIAN AIRFIELD PHOTO

Beijing MINZU HUABAO in Chinese No 8, 1979 p 22

[Photo on following page]



Airfield at the foot of the Qilian Mountains where the first generation of Tibetan and Mongolian pilots are training.

CSO: 4005

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

BRIEFS

QINGHAI MILITARY DISTRICT CIRCULAR--The headquarters, political department and logistics department of the Qinghai Provincial Military District have issued a joint circular calling on all units to support Qinghai's socialist modernization and build a better Qinghai. The circular urges all units to work out a unified support plan and to support local production and construction with manpower, materials and technical resources. It says that, in the event of serious natural disasters, when people's lives and property are in jeopardy, all units must go all out and help local people combat disasters regardless of length of time. [OW080445 Xining Qinghai Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Oct 79 OW]

ORDNANCE, ENGINE ASSOCIATION RALLY--The China Ordnance Association and engine association recently held a gathering in Foshan Municipality on their establishment and a seminar to exchange professional knowledge. The 140 people who attended included leaders from the departments and commissions concerned; experts from the central authorities and representatives from fraternal provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. They emphatically exchanged experiences in the trends of engines and the technology of increasing pressures and structural strength. [Text] [HK120630 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 2 Nov 79 HK]

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'DEMOCRACY BOX' MADE AVAILABLE FOR PLANT WORKERS' OPINIONS

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 79 p 3

[News release by Office of the General Trade Union, Shenyang Municipality:
"The Trade Union 'Democracy Box' Welcomed by the Workers"]

[Text] In order to fully guarantee the right of the workers to be masters of their own enterprise, to listen to the timely expression of opinions on the part of the broad masses of the workers and to hear their voices, and thereby to further bring the party and the masses into an even closer relationship, the Liming Machinery Plant in Shenyang Municipality, beginning in March this year, set up five "Democracy Boxes" in front of the gate of the trade union and the four gates of the factory. Since these "Democracy Boxes" were made available to the masses, altogether 95 letters have been received from them. These letters are concerned with many aspects of the operation of the factory, including business management, reasonable suggestions, livelihood and welfare, working style of the cadres, personnel work, technical study, examination of merits, labor emulation, corruption and burglary and other problems of the like numbering altogether 97. This has fully demonstrated the concern, care and supervision held by the broad masses of the employees and workers toward the factory management.

The trade union of the factory set up a "Democracy Box" Management Group consisting of 11 employee and worker representatives. This Management Group looked upon this task of managing well the operation of the "Democracy Box" as an expression of confidence and trust by the broad masses toward itself. It therefore adopted a very serious attitude, put special persons in charge, and insisted on opening the boxes once every 3 days. They also held regular meetings to analyze and study the circumstances in which the masses sent their letters and the results of disposing them, thus basically achieving the following: timely replies were given to all those letters from the masses with proper signatures; in the case of letters reflecting or requesting reflection of opinions, they were forwarded respectively to the departments and units concerned after analysis and some tidying-up work; in the case of important problems reflected in the letters, they were usually reported to the factory party committee in good time. According to our preliminary statistics, out of the 95 letters received 52 are now already disposed. For instance, after they received a letter which exposed a problem

concerning the secretary of the party branch at Workshop No 64, Mobilization Division, it was immediately turned over to the party committee of the Mobilization Division. The party committee of this division paid great attention to the matter; it convened a special party committee meeting to conduct a very serious study, and it also organized a special group of persons to go down and conduct an investigation at the workshop. The division leadership personally asked this secretary to come over for consultation and to participate in an enlarged meeting of the workshop party branch meeting for three times, so as to help him increase his understanding and examine possible errors. The Craftsmanship Division received a letter from a worker at Workshop No 33 by the name of Wang Ce who proposed to reform certain items of craftsmanship; it likewise organized concerned persons right away to conduct a study. After it was determined that the proposal was feasible, he was allowed to do research and carry out the experiment together with relevant technical personnel. The Labor-Capital Relations [0525 6327 5710] Division also received a letter from a worker at Workshop No 14 by the name of Wang Huanyu who requested that his wife be given relevant work. After study it was determined that, according to factory regulations, it would be improper to have her admitted to the factory, but they gave their reply in time and explained the situation clearly, so that Wang Huanyu was very satisfied. The broad ranks of the employees and workers of this factory took note of the fact that the factory party committee and administration paid great attention to the letters from the masses and provided answers to the opinions and demands uttered by the employees and workers, and they thereby happily said: From now on we must resolutely exercise our right to be masters of our own enterprise, take advantage of the "Democracy Boxes" to reflect our opinions often, so as to help the leaders at the various levels to manage well our factory.

9255

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

WRITERS, ARTISTS EXHORTED TO LIBERATE THINKING, BE MORE CREATIVE

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 14 Nov 79 p 4

[Article by Qin Zhaoyang [4440 0340 7122]: "Emancipate the Mind and Use It"]

[Text] The congratulatory address by Comrade Deng Xiaoping [6772 1420 1627], representing the CCP Central Committee and the State Council, to the present Congress of Literary and Art Workers will be our general policy for a long period of time in our future revolutionary literary and art work. After repeatedly studying this address, I feel highly elated and stimulated to say many things, but will limit myself here to report only a small portion of what I have gained in my studies of the problem of further emancipation of the mind among the literary and art workers.

In the 3 years since the smashing of the "gang of four," the "disaster area" of the literary and art front quickly became a "fertile ground." This is an obvious fact for everyone to see. Why did our "battle of liberation" and our "offensive" make such quick progress? Unquestionably because the broad masses of our revolutionary literary and art workers have undergone an extended period, and a great variety of blood baptisms, tempering in fire and hammering by iron hammers, with the results that their consciousness was raised even higher, that minds became more enlightened and blood seethed with greater excitement, that escape was possible from various kinds of doctrinaire superstitions, thus achieving greater sagacity and courage. Of course, the buglecall of ideological emancipation sounded by the 5 April movement, the general political line for all work of the entire party and the whole nation outlined to us by the Third Plenum of the CCP Central Committee, as also the urgent demands for literary and art works by the entire nation, have undoubtedly been forceful spiritual stimulations for our literary and art workers.

Our literary and art work has never before achieved the present extent of closeness to the people, the party, to Marxist truth and with the demands of the time. Each good play that is performed, each good short story that is published and each new periodical on literature and art, is immediately attracting the attention of readers, particularly a short story that breaks through past taboos, or a poem or song that strikes at abuses of our time, will immediately cause a stir over a wide area.

However, has there already been enough emancipation of the mind among our literary and art workers? In my own case, it is far from sufficient. All things advance in a struggle of contradictions, and literary and art work during the last 3 years is no exception. At this time of the Congress of Literary and Art Workers, it is a necessity to recollect and review the facts of these contradictions.

1. Every breaking of a taboo demands extremely great courage and taking extremely great risks! "The heart is still full of residual fear," is a phrase occurring frequently in the periodicals and magazines of the last 3 years. "Scarred literature" and similar unsavory obituaries are often heard at various symposia. In the minds of many people, the residual fever to broaden the class struggle has not yet abated. The residual cultural poison of the "gang of four" despotism and all its absurd theories has not yet been eliminated. Are there not people who take modern superstitions as a kind of snail's shell to stick inside and only occasionally extend tentacles to test the atmosphere for the possibilities of a "counterattack"? Are there not people who consider the policy of the "double hundred" [Let a hundred schools of thought contend; let a hundred flowers bloom] as a ploy to "lure the snake out of its cave"? There certainly are such people. In recent years all the disturbances on the literary and art front are definitely the consequence of this mentality, or more or less linked with it.

2. The poisonous sludge deposited over a long period of time in the minds of the people by the critical methods of subjectivism and metaphysics is too thick! Advocating writing about middle-level people is construed as refusing to write about heroic personalities, as advocating exposure of dark aspects, as opposing praise of the bright aspects and as revisionism. Advocating realism is construed as advocating the critical realism of the bourgeoisie, as wanting to expose the dark aspects of the socialist society, as interacting with the ideological trend of foreign and domestic revisionism, as opposing the party and opposing socialism. And the "gang of four" already developed this confusion of right and wrong one step further to a frightening degree of absurdity, and brought about an unprecedented calamity on the literary and art front! How could it be possible to avoid the continued existence of "residual fears"! Exposing the crimes of the "gang of four" was construed as exposing dark aspects of socialism, as refusing to sing the praises of the glory of it, as opposing service to workers, peasants and soldiers, as being a villain, is this all not a repetitious display of metaphysical logic?

3. The objective, actual conditions are very complex. Singing the praises of the courageous struggle of the revolutionary fighters, exposing the crimes of the "gang of four," criticism of ideological ossification, of bureaucratism, of people and things that obstruct the Four Modernizations, cannot be done without offending a number of big and small people and possibly inviting unpredictable dangers.

4. At present the country is facing many difficulties. Problems pile up high. On the one hand, solidarity must be consolidated in order to gradually solve all these problems and to gradually realize the Four Modernizations. On the other hand the progress of work is very unequal in different localities. People were unable to hold back any longer and things may have occurred that were unmindful of the overall situation. Due to the actions of the "gang of four," which created an unprecedented calamity and seriously impaired the prestige of the party, the masses lost confidence in socialism. If in addition a small group of evildoers took advantage of the mood of the masses to carry out disturbances, and if some people want to blame this state of affairs, which could hamper the Four Modernizations, on literature and art and blame it on certain particular works or certain particular authors, that would be truly unbearable!

5. At present "freedom" is being advocated; could there possibly be a period of "restraint" in future?

All this must certainly induce uneasiness in our writers when setting pen to paper, or expressed in common language, there is a "sense of insecurity." The mind will then unavoidably become apprehensive and a man will step gingerly. The emancipation of the mind will only proceed with certain reservations, and writing and editing will unavoidably proceed only haltingly and experimentally. As a result the themes of literary works will not be broad enough and their ideological depth will thereby be affected. To give an example: among the works exposing and criticizing the "gang of four," we find few in-depth descriptions of the relatively big conspirators, double-dealers and careerists. People who persecute veteran cadres and sabotage all kinds of work are merely small evil instigators who conceal themselves within the mass organizations. The positive character in all the works that reflect the present struggle of contradictions between old and new mentalities always has his eyes only on the work within his particular unit and cannot visualize the situation in the municipality, province or country as a whole. His insight and analysis of the opposite side is frequently merely a superficial statement of "ideological ossification" and does not elucidate what is fundamentally behind this "ossification," which means he does not "touch the soul" of the matter. In short, in the contemporary works that I have seen there is something of an "up to here and no further," that frequently stops it from reaching greater artistic and ideological effectiveness, that causes feelings of great disappointment. Apart from this, there are many comrades among the fellow-writers that I have met who, due to unfavorable local conditions, want to be liberal but do not dare to. They suffer great spiritual depression but also do not have the courage to effect a "break-through." This unevenness of publications from different localities is very apparent. In short, according to my personal opinion, the lack of sufficient broadness and depth in literary works and the uneven emancipation of thought in various localities is the general manifestation of the extreme inadequacy of ideological emancipation in contemporary literature and art circles.

I feel that Comrade Deng Xiaoping's congratulatory address has further lifted the sluice gate of emancipation of thought for us just at the right time. It will allow us to discard to the greatest extent the various concerns that were mentioned earlier! At present our country has already entered upon a new era of socialist modernization. We must reform and perfect the socialist economic and political system and must develop a high degree of socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. Part of the congratulatory address reads: "The masses and the cadres on all battlefronts must be promoters of emancipation of the mind, of the consolidation of our solidarity, of the unity of our fatherland and of the realization of the Four Modernizations. The most fundamental criterion to assess the correctness of all work must be whether it is helpful or harmful to the realization of the Four Modernizations. Workers in literature and art must cooperate with comrades in educational work, in theoretical work, in the news media, in political work and other related spheres, and must engage in an effective, long-term struggle in the area of ideology against all ideological customs and habits that impede the Four Modernizations. We are determined to criticize the influences of the old, narrow mentality of the exploiting class and of the small-producer mentality, to criticize anarchism, extreme individualism, and to overcome bureaucratism. We are determined to restore and develop the revolutionary tradition of our party and people, to nurture and establish fine moral practices and customs and to contribute actively toward a highly developed socialist spirit and culture."

Comrades, this is the glorious, and also arduous, task that the CCP Central Committee has assigned to us literary and art workers! It is also the glorious and arduous task that the times and the people have bestowed on us! The party and the people fervently hope that we employ the weapon of literature and art, and cooperate with our brothers-in-arms on all battlefronts in eliminating all obstacles to the realization of the Four Modernizations, pave the way for them and carry out a long-term, effective struggle to nurture a new generation of men!

Every historical era has its main theme of revolutionary literature which embodies the hopes and aspirations of the people. During the era from the 4 May movement to the 1930s, the main theme was to overturn the "three great mountains" [imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism] and to carry out the national democratic revolution. All works which were in line with the subject, content and ideology of this main topic were good, significant revolutionary works. The road for writers was therefore very wide. During the war years, literary works which were helpful in gaining victory in the revolutionary war were also significant, and the road was therefore also very wide. After liberation all works were significant which were helpful for the three transformations [in agriculture, industry and commerce] and for the socialist revolution and construction. The road again had to be extremely wide. However, during the period prior to the cultural revolution, the broad road was narrowed. During the 10 years of cultural despotism of the "gang of four," not only was the road narrow, but there was virtually no road at all! This caused us great vexations,

hardships and harm! Now, Comrade Deng Xiaoping clearly set out for us the main theme, valid far into the future: pave the way for the Four Modernizations and nurture new men to work for their realization! All works that are helpful for the realization of the Four Modernizations and which will enrich the spiritual life of the people are worthwhile works; how broad this road is now!

From here on, we literary and art workers can count on support and backing. How gladdening and exhilarating!

However, in all our happiness we also have to consider that the directions and policies of our party after all merely point the way for us, assign the task, give us support and open the sluice gate, but going the road in concrete terms is still up to us, and once we face concrete situations, conflicts and difficulties are bound to arise.

Since we are resolved to pave the way, to help on the further growth of new things and cause backward things to die away, we shall have to struggle, to meet conflicts, to raise questions, to touch some people's sore spots, and we may even raise larger or smaller disturbances. Will that not have adverse effects on stability and unity? Does it not also contain an element of danger? Comrade Deng Xiaoping told us: "The fundamental criterion to assess all work is whether it is helpful or harmful to the realization of the Four Modernizations." He also said: "In the past Lin Biao and the 'gang of four' used the reactionary and decadent ideology of the exploiting class to corrode and corrupt the spirit of the people, to poison the social atmosphere and to inflict extremely heavy damage to our revolutionary tradition and fine customs and habits. By their creations our literary and art workers should raise the spiritual level of our people and carry on a firm and relentless struggle against the evil influences of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.'" Against the mistaken trends, coming from the "left" as well as from the right, but always trying in devious ways to cause disturbances, undermine stability and unity and act contrary to the interests and aspirations of the overwhelming majority, our literary and art workers must "maintain a clear head" and must "resist, denounce and oppose such erroneous trends."

Is it easy to distinguish whether a thing is helpful or harmful for the Four Modernizations, or to distinguish destructive interferences from the "left" or the right, or to have one's work appear presentable, hit the mark, have a firm foothold and stand all tests? It is not easy at all! Factional interests, anarchism, extreme individualism, bureaucracy and similar trends are frequently disguised in pretty clothes. This great artfulness, the skill at concealment and trouble-making is one of the most deepgoing evil legacies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." It is not easy to counteract these influences. The socialist society is after all a historical era of transformation from old to new and actually proceeding in this transformation through a complex struggle of contradictions. If we now want to realize the Four Modernizations, following on the evil

legacies of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," our struggle between the contradictions of new and old will become even more complex. The complexities will on the one hand provide a wide field for the creativity and militancy of literature and art, and on the other hand will present us with many difficulties in choosing topics and deliberating problems.

In brief, we want stability and unity in the interest of realizing the Four Modernizations, but we also do not want to see all kinds of evil men and things continue in an undisturbed existence, oppressing good people and obstructing good things, thus preventing the smooth progress of the Four Modernizations. What are we to do? The only thing to do is to struggle courageously and prove capable fighters. That means that after the CCP Central Committee has opened the sluice gate of ideological liberation, we, the literary and art workers, must liberate ourselves. It is like vegetation that has sunshine, rain and dew and is implanted in a fertile soil; it still will not grow unless it makes its own efforts to absorb the nutrients and grow.

In the new era, with our new task and new main theme in front of us, we are determined to show new courage and wisdom.

We must study much more, deliberate more and show effectiveness in our deliberations. We must learn fighting from fights. The "emancipation of the mind" actually means to gain a correct as well as courageous mentality. Exactly as Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out, we must be both, literary and art workers as well as politicians. In addition we must also be proficient in coordinating our struggle with that of all the other battlefronts in the same ideological area; this is also highly important. If our country does not advance and undergo reforms, it will slide back and become endangered. If the "gang of four" are not thoroughly criticized, the Four Modernizations cannot be realized. Who among us workers in literature and art would not be deeply concerned about the fate of our fatherland! We shall therefore do our work regardless of difficulties and dangers!

We all, and particularly me, have for a long time lacked the habit of thorough and painstaking thinking. This is due to the fact that during the war years, we were able to accomplish some writing without much brain work by merely staying with the people, becoming familiar with their lives as they were trying to survive the tests of arduous hardships. After liberation, the habit of independent thinking could also not be nurtured for various reasons. Today, after the 10 calamitous years brought about by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," if we still don't study assiduously and give deep thought to the problem, how can we become capable writers and at the same time politicians, how can we be courageous fighters and also capable as fighters? In the last 3 years, every work that has broken through a taboo of the past to appear before the eyes of the masses was the result of a writer's self-liberation, the result of a courageous fight and of being a capable fighter. The literary and art achievements of the

last 3 years, and the road that has been outlined in them, have been the work of many courageous comrades, and the outcome of a coordinated fight with those on the other battlefronts. That is an experience that we shall always remember and continuously develop!

Since the task of literary and art work is to pave the way for the Four Modernizations and to nurture new men, it is significant as a movement of enlightenment, promoting the spiritual liberation of the entire nation just as the 4 May movement was a movement of enlightenment which initiated the later revolutionary movement in our country. The literary and art movement therefore can, and indeed must, march ahead of the economic construction. I believe, thriving and prosperous conditions in literature and art, unprecedented throughout the ages, will be brought forth in our struggle and will produce inestimable influences on the present and future reality of our country.

The party and the nation are pinning their hopes on us, the times are calling on us, difficulties of all kinds are tempering us, the great tragedies and happy events of the revolution provide material of the most exciting nature, produce new men, new things and new contradictions and struggle that move us to the highest pitch and stimulate us, rendering us restless; we simply have to write!

I personally have every intention to do my best to catch up with everybody else and to advance together!

8453

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'SYNDICALISM' ATTACKED AS OPPORTUNIST IDEOLOGY

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Oct 79 p 3

[Editorial by Gong Wen [7895 2429]: "Let Us Liberate Ourselves From the Shackles of 'Syndicalism'"]

[Text] For a long time, the spiritual shackles of "syndicalism" have always been imposed upon many trade union cadres and thereby seriously constrained people's thinking. If the trade union is to give full play to its role in the new historical era without fail, these spiritual shackles of "syndicalism" must be done away with thoroughly.

What is "syndicalism"? "Syndicalism" is a kind of petty-bourgeois opportunist ideology that occurred in the international workers' movement. It considers the trade union (i.e., the "syndicate") as the only form by which the workers may be united together and the turning of the means of production over to the trade union as the ultimate goal of the workers' movement. The working class does not have to have a political party of its own; it is only necessary for the workers to rely on the trade union and adopt so-called direct action, such as strikes, resistance, demonstration, sabotage, etc., in order to assure victory of the working class. It is opposed to political struggle, and it propagates the "neutrality" of the trade union. It also fancies to have an association of trade unions of various localities substitute for the state apparatus, and it is therefore also called "anarchical syndicalism." The characteristic of this ideology is its denial of the leading role played by the proletarian political party in the workers' movement and its denial of the necessity of proletarian revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat. Obviously, this ideology sets itself against Marxism and is erroneous to begin with. Without its own political party armed by the Marxist theory, without establishing its own political power through the smashing of the old state apparatus and thereby practicing the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is impossible for the struggle of the proletariat to gain victory.

Petty bourgeoisie is the soil in which syndicalism grows. Since there existed in our country a great ocean of petty-bourgeois movements for a long time, it cannot be said that there had never been any possibility for syndicalism to appear.

to appear. This is something about which we must constantly pay attention and keep our vigil.

However, in the process of several decades' development of the workers' movement and trade union movement in our country, whether before or since the liberation of the entire country, syndicalism as a general trend has never taken shape or existed. Ever since their birth, the trade unions in our country have always been under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party in their struggle for the cause of the liberation of the working class; they have never departed from the party's leadership. Even if we speak merely of the period since the founding of our state, the trade unions at the various levels have invariably riveted around the party committees at their respective levels and, in terms of their work, they have likewise developed their own activities closely around the party's central tasks of the various periods. All of these are facts that can be tested by history. If during a certain given period certain individual trade union leaders happened to have harbored certain erroneous thoughts of a syndicalist nature, such thoughts nonetheless fell far short of constituting any general trend in the trade union work of the country as a whole. The fact that Lin Biao and the "gang of four" made use of "syndicalism" as a big stick to cruelly beat the cadres of the trade unions and to destroy the trade union organizations was entirely due to their counter-revolutionary ambitions. In reality, precisely because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" trumpeted about "kicking away the party committee in order to rebel," instigated their cronies and henchmen to seize the leadership power of certain trade union organizations in a vain attempt to substitute the trade unions with such cronies and to usurp party organs through such trade unions, so that it was they who were the only syndicalists. The vast ranks of the country's trade union cadres should forthrightly renounce such an unfounded label once attached to them. As regards the various problems passed down to us in the history of our trade union work, we should in all cases test them with the standard of practice. What practice proves to be correct, even if in the past some conclusion has been drawn about it in the book, or it has been criticized in some document, must today be given the necessary opportunity for a new understanding and a correct appraisal. Only by insisting upon such a materialistic attitude will it be possible for us to insist upon the truth and correct our mistakes.

Because they do not understand the historical conditions in our trade union work, some comrades in other lines of work sometimes confuse the trade union's protection of the interests of the masses of the workers and speaking in their behalf with syndicalism itself. Such misunderstanding must be cleared away. Syndicalism denies the party's leadership role. But protecting and representing the interests of the workers is an important task the party entrusts to the trade union for the sake of uniting the entire working class around the party even better. The two are fundamentally different. We should be able to see that protecting the interests of the masses of the workers is also protecting the interest of the party. Because apart from the interests of the working class and the masses of the people our party

has no other particular interest of its own. When the trade union represents the masses well, it would be able to unite closely with the masses, thoroughly carry out the party's line, principles and policies amongst the masses, and thereby further protect the party's leadership over the working class. If the trade union remains accountable only to the party but fails to insist on being accountable to the masses, fails to reflect their demands, and fails to represent their interests, such a trade union is bound to deviate from the masses and is thus liable to become incapable of protecting the party's leadership.

In his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Ye Jianying emphatically demanded the trade union, Youth Corps, women's association and organizations of the like to carry out their work positively, actively, independently and responsibly so as to mobilize the masses to enthusiastically participate in socialist modernization and in the protection of the interests of the state and the collectives while at the same time resolutely protecting the interests of the masses represented by themselves. Comrade Ye Jianying wisely pointed out: "The correct, effective leadership of the party is to guarantee that the various organizations vigorously and harmoniously work together and bring their respective initiative into full play." This is an important principle for us to do our trade union work well. Cadres of the trade unions must emancipate their thinking, refurbish their spirit, fearlessly develop their work according to the Party Central Committee's requirements and directives. They should not waver or hesitate, be afraid of this and that. We must bring accountability toward the party in line with accountability toward the masses so as to proceed, under the leadership of the party, effectively to achieve close association with the masses and do our best to work for the workers and to speak in behalf of the workers. Once we have done this, what we gain is bound to be the trust of the party organs and the masses of the workers and cadres, the restoration and development of the trade union's fine traditions, and the real livening of our trade union work. Our trade unions will then be full of vitality and fighting ardor and capable of making their due contributions toward the Four Modernizations.

9255

CSO: 4005

CONTROL OF POPULATION GROWTH NECESSARY TO ACCELERATE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 8 Oct 79 p 3

[Article by Li Meilin [2621 5019 2651] deputy director of the Provincial Family Planning Office: "Control Population Growth; Accelerate the Four Modernizations"]

[Text] Controlling population growth requires an explicit fundamental standpoint and point of departure and that it be considered from the strategic significance in accelerating the realization of our socialist Four Modernizations. If our family planning is done well, we can speed up the progress of the Four Modernizations; if it isn't, it can hold back the Four Modernizations. Using practice as the sole criterion of truth, we should summarize our positive and negative experience in the population problem over the last 30 years and lower the natural population growth to a more reasonable level.

China is the most populated country in the world. The special features of China's population growth are: the base number is large, the birth rate is high and the growth rate is rapid. At the time of liberation in 1949, China's population was over 540 million. Now it has increased to over 900 million. Of this number, about 600 million were born after liberation. The population had a net increase of over 400 million in 30 years, or nearly double. In 1949, the population of Guangdong was 30.1 million, but by 1978 it had reached 55.92 million. Of that number, 36 million were born after liberation. That's a net increase of 25.8 million, or 85.7 percent, of the population in the early years of liberation. Population growth is very fast.

In dealing with population growth we run into a new problem; that is, confronting the population growth peak. The height of the birth rate is determined by how many enter the age of marriage and childbearing. Because in the fifties we did not pay attention to family planning, population growth rose sharply. Those who were born in that period are now entering the marriage and childbearing age. If we take Guangdong as an example, of the 36 million born after liberation, beginning in 1980, every year the number of persons reaching marriageable age will gradually increase from 500,000 to 600,000-800,000 couples. If every couple has two children,

by the year 2,000, that generation born after liberation alone will have borne nearly 36 million people. According to statistics provided by the agencies concerned, after the population of those born after liberation throughout the entire country reaches the marriage and childbearing age, by strictly carrying out the plan that each couple have only two children, by the end of the century the country's population will climb to 1.2 billion. This kind of population growth cannot but attract our most serious consideration.

Our population is large but our cultivated land is sparse. This is a huge contradiction. If we do not control population on a planned basis, this contradiction will become increasingly acute, and the matter of food will necessarily become an outstanding difficulty. At present in China there is an average of 1.5 mu of land for each person, and to this it must be added that agricultural production is backward; food grain output per unit area is low; and, in terms of the average volume of food grain per person, China is one of the lowest countries in the world. The obvious contradictions of large population, sparse land and the fact that increased food grain production cannot catch up to population growth has already become acute. For this reason, we must make an important resolution to adopt effective measures to control population at an appropriate level. Otherwise, it will hinder the development of the Four Modernizations.

The speed of population growth directly affects the relationship between accumulation and consumption. We are a socialist country and, when making our economic plans and in planning the relationship between accumulation and consumption, it is necessary to adhere to one principle which is to guarantee that the material and cultural standard of living of all the workers will continue to rise. In the process of realizing the Four Modernizations, on one hand it is necessary to have a large amount of capital accumulation and a fairly high rate of accumulation, and on the other hand it is also necessary to improve the people's standard of living gradually. How can we give consideration to both of these things? The most basic thing is to expand production and practice strict economy. Apart from this, under the existing state of affairs in which our country's population base is large and is increasing rapidly but production is insufficiently developed, lowering the rate of population growth is an important measure in managing the relationship between accumulation and consumption. According to calculations, for every additional child in our country, from its birth until it starts school, the nation must increase its burden by 500 yuan. From 1966 to 1971, our country had a net population increase of 122 million people, and annually the nation increased its burden by 10 billion yuan, or an increase of 60 billion yuan over 6 years. If population growth can be controlled with 10 million fewer births per year, or 60 million in 6 years, we will have 30 billion yuan more in capital which could be used to increase production accumulation and provide a material foundation for the Four Modernizations. Recently, some departments concerned estimated that the expenditures for one child from conception and birth to the age of 16 is 6,900 yuan in a major city, 4,800 yuan in a provincial

city and 1,600 yuan in the rural areas. Guangdong began to give attention to family planning in 1965. In 1965, the birth rate in Guangdong was 36.28 per thousand but in 1978 it was 20.11 per thousand. That's a reduction of 16.17 per thousand over 12 years. Altogether over 6.9 million fewer people were born. This reduced the national and family expenditures by over 350 billion yuan; saved nearly 4.3 billion catties of food grain; annually reduced the number of children starting school by 580,000; not to mention the reduced burden on medical care, housing, workers looking for employment and non-staple foods. It can be seen that doing a good job in family planning can lighten the burden on the nation, increase accumulation and accelerate the Four Modernizations.

There is an even closer relationship between consumption and the population situation and population reproduction.

Population production must be correlated with the production of material goods. This is an objective economic law. This is especially the case in circumstances in which the means of livelihood which can be supplied by social production are insufficient. If population growth cannot be controlled it will have an effect on the standard of living and will influence any improvement in the entire nation's scientific and cultural level.

The people's standard of living cannot be separated from food, clothing and shelter. As I said earlier, our nation's average grain output per person is one of the lowest in the world. Since liberation, the total output of food grains in the entire country increased from 210 billion catties in 1949 to 565 billion catties in 1977--more than double. In 28 years our food grain increased at an average rate of 3.3 percent, while the rate of population growth was 1.9 percent. In short, the rate of increase in food grains surpassed that of population growth. However, if we base our calculations on the 20 year period from 1957 to 1977, the average annual increase in food grains was 2 percent and the average annual population growth was about 2 percent, basically even. That is, the increased production of food grains was basically eaten up by the net increase in population. If we add the increase in industrially used and other grains, our actual average grain ratio is not much better than in 1957.

Housing is an important issue in determining the masses' standard of living and it also has a very close relationship to population growth. From 1956 to 1977, the nation invested over 30 billion yuan in urban housing and housing construction recently increased by 500 million square meters. According to statistics, from late 1977 the average area of urban housing per person was 3.6 square meters, a decrease of .9 square meters compared to the 4.5 square meters figure for the early liberation period. The housing situation in Guangdong is even more critical. According to statistics for 10 large- and medium-sized cities in Guangdong, 115,000 households are without housing or live in housing with less than 2 square meters per person. Thus, it is obvious that even though every year the nation spends money to resolve the problem of housing the masses, the housing shortage is not alleviated and an important reason is the rapid population growth.

Planned control of population growth is also advantageous in raising the scientific and cultural level of the nation. In old China, the level of our cultural education was very low and, although there was great development after liberation, the gap with economically developed countries is still wide. The ordinary worker in Japan has the cultural level of upper middle school; but in China there are 100 million young people who are illiterate or semi-illiterate, and 5 million of them are from Guangdong. In 1977, of every 10,000 persons, 456.4 Americans were in college, 156.8 Japanese were in college, 156.8 Yugoslavs were in college, 141.4 French were in college, 117.1 Germans were in college, and 112 English were in college, but only 6.1 Chinese were in college. For us to achieve the Four Modernizations is not only a matter of the quantity of labor, but more importantly of the quality of labor, i.e., a high degree of culture and the ability to be expert at one thing and good at many others. But to train a person to be this kind of worker requires a capital investment of over 10,000 yuan. If we can control the natural population growth to under 10 per thousand by 1985, the number of persons in school throughout the country will be reduced by 50 million. In our province, the number of students would be reduced by about 2 million. This would free manpower, financial resources and material resources to improve the quality of elementary education, extend middle school education and strengthen cultural education for on-the-job staff and workers and improve the quantity and quality of students enrolled in universities. This can truly raise the nation's scientific and cultural level. In short, carrying out family planning and being thorough in controlling the rate of population growth is relevant to improving the people's standard of living and the fundamental interests of all the people.

To control the rate of population growth effectively, we must conscientiously summarize our positive and negative experience on the population question over the last 30 years and thoroughly improve research on population theory.

Why has the rate of China's population growth been so rapid since liberation? One important reason is that we confused the right and wrong in theory, superficially proclaiming the viewpoint that "more people is a good thing" as if the more people the better, even to the point of explaining it as an important principle of historical materialism. We adopted a policy of "look but don't see" toward population problems actually in existence even to the point of creating an anarchistic attitude toward population growth, which has had serious and disastrous effects. In the early fifties, many scholars who studied the population question put forth many good ideas about China's population having planned growth, especially Mr Ma Yinchu [7456 1377 0443] who twice, once in December 1956 and again in May 1957 published essays proposing that planned control of China's population be undertaken. The commendable thing is that at that time he saw the dual importance of the population question. He said: "A large population is, of course, an extremely great asset, but an extremely great liability as well," and he pointed out that "too many people will retard technological development and scientific progress." Looked at today, these viewpoints

still have great practical significance. If at that time we had adopted this correct idea and the party and nation had as serious a regard toward the population as they have today, probably China's population would not have increased as fast as it has in the last 20 years and the problem would not have reached the degree it has today. But Mr Ma Yinchu's foresight and wisdom encountered two large criticisms, it was "Malthusianism," it "denied the superiority of the socialist system," and it "lacked sympathy for the 600 million people"; he was tarred with one political brush after another. Many other scholars who studied the population question were not condemned as reactionary population theorists or Malthusians, but they were called rightists and suffered the same fate as Mr Ma Yinchu. Thus, theoretical workers did not dare to investigate and study demographic theory, and practical workers could not study and formulate with assurance effective policy measures to control population.

In the fifties, Guangdong was pretty active in research on population theory, and many comrades proposed some very good ideas. In the early seventies, some theoretical workers in the Shantou [3073 7333] District demonstrated the interrelationship of the production of people and the material means of production and set forth the view that the two kinds of production go hand in hand. To develop study and research on population theory, in the winter of 1975, two population theory study courses were offered at the provincial party school. In December 1977, the State Council Family Planning Leadership Team Office held a "National Conference on Population Theory Study Class Work" in the Shantou District of Guangdong, which was very enthusiastic and encouraging about the research on population theory which we had begun. Now, under the new conditions, we want to liberate thinking, summarize experience, truly make a clear distinction between what is Malthusianism and what is Marxist population theory, eliminate the bad influence of the metaphysical view that having a lot of people is absolutely a good thing, breach the forbidden zone of not daring to study socialist population question, thoroughly carry out the hundred schools policy, advocate seeking truth from facts, raise population theory research to a new level, promote planned population growth and contribute to the acceleration of the Four Modernizations.

8226

CS0: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ERROR OF 'LARGE POPULATION' POLICY ANALYZED

Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Oct 79 p 4

[Article by Chen Zhongli [7115 0022 4539]: "An Analysis of 'A Large Population Is a Good Thing'"]

[Text] As early as the 1950's, some comrades issued a call for the country to "limit the birth rate, and control the population." But this correct proposal was not only not adopted at that time, it even met with criticism. During such criticism, people partially propagated the viewpoint that "a large population is a good thing." Today, in order to accomplish the strategic task of controlling our population, we must make really clear as to wherein the error of this viewpoint lies.

Materialistic dialectics tells us that everything follows the law of one dividing into two. Anything contains international contradictions. A good thing and a bad thing, correctness and error, smooth sailing and difficulty are all in opposition to, yet at the same time united with, each other. The fact that our country has a large population has its good aspect, of course, because it is a tremendous resource for us. But it also has its unfavorable aspect, its difficult aspect. In a situation in which production remains hardly developed, when people are numerous, feeding and educating them become automatically serious problems. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The population of our country is large, this is a good thing but, of course, there are also difficulties. We hold that this alone represents a well-rounded, scientific view concerning the population question in our country. To speak only of the advantageous side of a large population but not of the difficult side of a large population constitutes metaphysical partiality. It is impossible not to lead to harmful results if such a partial viewpoint is relied upon while providing guidance to practice.

In the case of the relativity of the advantageous and disadvantageous aspects of a large population, they are neither equivalent nor so proportioned that the advantageous aspect always occupies the principal position. Instead, they vary according to the change that takes place in respect to time, location and conditioning factors, so that the principal aspect of the contradiction also varies. Take our country as an example, because the basic

figure of the population is very large, whereas the foundation of our economy remains flimsy and our arable land remains likewise limited, in a situation in which production remains also not yet sufficiently developed we need to carry out our socialist construction with great strides. If our population should increase by large numbers, difficulties stemming from such a large population will inevitably become extraordinary and thereby turn into the principal aspect of the contradiction. When a population is large, consumption automatically becomes large and capital cumulation becomes automatically small. When capital cumulation is small, it automatically affects expanded re-production. When the scale of expanded re-production is small, employment, education, housing, livelihood improvement, etc, will likewise be affected. Therefore, a large population increase is bound to bring difficulties to the state, to the collectives, as well as to the families. Would it not miss the mark by a long shot to avoid talking about this principal aspect of the contradiction but to stress, instead, only one-sidedly how "a large population is a good thing"?!

Those who advocate that "a large population is a good thing" also have supposedly stood on this ground, that is, "the production of material goods is the foundation of man's social life," and "man--the producer of such material goods, the toiling masses, cannot but play the most decisive role in the production of those material goods." This kind of reasoning puts the two concepts, "man" and "producer," in apposition to each other, stealthily substituting the concept of "producer" with the concept of "man." A producer is of course a man, but not every person is also a producer. From the babies just born to youths in their teens or even in their 20s, plus the old people who have lost their labor power, all these are not producers by any means. From a newly born baby to a child of 16 or 17 years of age, and up to a youth 29 years old, he can only be regarded as a "latent" producer. It takes plenty of time, manpower and material resources to raise a mere "latent" producer and turn him into an actual producer. Some people have estimated on the basis of our present standard of living, roughly that in order to rear a baby and turn him into an adult it would cost about 1,600 yuan in the countryside, about 4,800 yuan in the rural townships, and about 6,900 yuan in the cities. Calculated on such a scale, the rearing cost for the people born after the liberation of our country necessarily makes up a fairly great proportion of the total of our national income cumulated since the liberation. Therefore, it is inappropriate, just for the sake of stressing that "a large population is a good thing," for us to simply substitute the producer who plays the decisive role in the production of material goods with the concept of "man."

Then, is it true that the faster our population increases, the better would our socialist system demonstrate its superiority? We hold that the superiority of the socialist system is not reflected in a high rate of population increase, nor in a large population as such, but reflected, instead, in the incessant elevation of the level of people's material and cultural life. The anarchical state in population growth is not only other than a demonstration

of the superiority of the socialist system but, precisely to the contrary, a demonstration that that superiority of the socialist system is not yet fully developed. Because the superiority of the socialist system lies precisely in people being masters of their own country, being able to control their own destiny, being able to develop their economy according to their own plans, and being able likewise to develop themselves. Just as Engels pointed out: "If we say that the communist society will at some time in the future have to adjust the production of men just as it has already adjusted the production of material goods, then it is going to be precisely that kind of society, and only that kind of society, which is capable of achieving this without any difficulty" (Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol I, p 45). Hence, random increase in population is incompatible with the superiority of the socialist system.

As for the danger and harm brought forth in practice by the advocacy that "a large population is a good thing," it is evident at a simple glance. Under the one-sided propagation of the idea that "a large population is a good thing," family planning and population control work have already been seriously affected. As a result, our population has rapidly increased from the slightly more than 601 million in 1953 to more than 975 million today. Since liberation, the increase in our grain production has nearly doubled; but why has the level of average amount of grain available to each person for a very long time not comparably increased? The reason is that whatever surplus has been produced has been consumed by such increase in our population. We must criticize this erroneous viewpoint, seriously take the lesson from history to heart, and endeavor to accomplish our strategic task of bringing the population under control.

9255

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY'S POLICY TOWARD EXPLOITERS IS CORRECT

Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 8 Sep 79 p 2

[Article by Xuan Zhe [1357 0772]: "How To View the Policy of Removing the Labels From Landlords and Rich Peasants and Repaying Fixed Interest to Capitalists"]

[Text] There are some comrades who cannot figure out the policy of removing the labels from landlords and rich peasants and repaying fixed interest to capitalists and letting them have high salaries. How should we view these questions?

To untie these ideological knots, we should review a teaching of Chairman Mao's: "With regard to the reactionary class and reactionaries, we should give them land and work after their power has been toppled, so long as they do not rebel, sabotage, or riot. We should let them live, and let them reform themselves through labor, so that they become new men." It has been a consistent and wise policy of our party to give leeway to members of the exploiting class, and to turn them into new individuals. As early as 1948, Comrade Mao Zedong correctly pointed out in "On Some Important Problems of the Party's Current Policy," drawn up for the party Central Committee, that "the landlords who have engaged in physical labor for 5 years or more and the rich peasants whose condition has been reduced to that of middle or poor peasants for 3 years or more may now have their class status changed in accordance with their present condition, provided their behavior has been good." It was also laid down by the State Administrative Council of the Central People's Government in August 1950 in the document "Decision on Determining the Status of Rural Classes" that "after the land reform is completed, all members of the landlord class can change their status as landlords to that of laborers or another status, provided they observe governmental regulations, work hard in productive labor or engage in other enterprises, and display no reactionary behavior for 5 years." "Rich peasants in the old liberated areas can likewise change their status in the same way as stated above after they comply with such conditions for 3 years following the land reform period." In the document "Some Current Questions on the Rural Socialist Education Movement"

(1965), the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong also dealt with the question of how to remove the labels from landlords, rich peasants, reactionaries, and bad elements after they engage in labor diligently and do not commit bad deeds for more than 10 years.

The real situation after these many years is like this: About 70 percent of the landlords and rich peasants of the land reform period have died from old age. The majority of the remaining 30 percent have for a long time participated in labor, relied on their own labor to make a living, and become self-reliant workers. On the whole, through long-continued reformation, they have also become politically obedient. Only a tiny minority are truly and stubbornly holding onto their reactionary standpoint and are engaged in antiparty and antisocialist activities. These landlords and peasants who are still unreformed and are not relieved of their labels make up 1 or 2 percent of the original landlords and rich peasants. At most they number about 5 percent. For example, Liaoning has 1.9 percent of its original unreformed landlords and peasants; Gansu, 1.49 percent; Jiangsu, 0.21 percent; Tianjin, 2.5 percent; and Nanjing, 1.7 percent. Also, for instance, there were over 8,000 landlords and rich peasants in Xunyi County of Beijing Municipality during the land reform period. Only about 1,400 were left labeled at that time. And, after the recent removal of labels, only 27 persons have still to be delabeled and reformed.

As for the capitalist class, i.e., the national bourgeoisie, among the people, there was a difference between them and the landlord and rich peasant classes at the outset. The former participated in the people's revolution against imperialism and feudalism. After liberation, they had the tendency to willingly accept socialist reeducation. Since the collectivization of means of production in 1956, the majority of them have participated in work or in labor. As Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," the members of this class "are in the process of changing from exploiters to self-reliant workers." He also raised the question of removing labels after the capitalist class stopped asking for fixed interest. Since then, over the last 20 years or so, the majority of them have earned their living on the basis of their own work and have become self-reliant workers. According to a neighborhood committee survey, there were originally 100 capitalists in Lungmen village of Nanshi ward, Shanghai. Now 31 of them are dead and four have moved elsewhere. Two persons were sentenced to undergo labor reform for bad behavior and lawlessness. Of the remaining 63 persons, 47 have retired, and only 16 are actually working or are engaged in labor. Among these 63 persons, the youngest is 53 and the oldest 85. After the incorporation of private and state enterprises, the shortest time span of labor served by them was 7 years, but most of them served for over 10 years.

The above historical and current situation tells us that the party Central Committee has announced that the landlord, rich peasant, and

capitalist classes no longer exist. The decision to remove the labels from landlords and rich peasants did not come about all of a sudden. It is to carry out an established policy, and, being reasonable and feasible, it conforms to the reality of historical development. Comrade Mao Zedong foresaw this situation a long time ago. It is also a great achievement of our party in guiding our country to carry out revolution and socialist reconstruction.

With regard to questions about the high salaries given to some capitalists, and not long ago the return to them of fixed interest and savings, we should understand the following: When at the outset the party and the government decided to give capitalists fixed interest, to maintain the original high salaries of some of them, and to adopt a purchase policy, it was to us a profitable policy politically as well as economically. Many of our capitalists have varying degrees of knowledge about modern production technology and business management. This is knowledge we need. By giving capitalists fixed interest, and by giving them salaries in the same manner as we determine the salary policy for our employees, in the sense that their high salaries remain unchanged, we not only make the capitalists see no reason not to accept socialist reconstruction, but also encourage them to actively apply themselves to national construction. This way by which the capitalist class is disintegrated in the course of peaceful reconstruction was originally an obviously efficient and correct policy devised by the party Central Committee under the leadership of Comrade Mao. However, during the Cultural Revolution, many places were influenced by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." The savings of capitalists were sought out and confiscated and their salaries were reduced. This antiparty policy had adverse effects on our socialist enterprises. Although the savings, property, and fixed interest of the capitalists are income that smacks of exploitation, they are permitted and protected by the constitution and are legal. In giving them back their savings and restoring their original salaries, we are bringing order out of chaos. Implementation of this policy is conducive to mobilizing their enthusiasm. In Hong Kong and Macao, and on the international level, it will generate positive effects. Also, even if they get the money, they cannot use it to engage in exploitative activities. Moreover, from the point of view of the overwhelming majority of people, the salaries of the capitalists are really not that high. According to statistics for Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, and Guangzhou, 79.3 percent of the capitalist industrialists and businessmen before the Great Cultural Revolution had salaries below 100 yuan, 20 percent earned between 100 and 300 yuan, and only 0.7 percent earned more than 300 yuan. The number of industrialists and businessmen in the country who earned more than 300 yuan did not exceed 800, and they were the representatives of the capitalist class who wielded relatively great influence. In addition, surveys in other districts and units also illustrate this point. A survey conducted in Tianjin in 1958, based on 31,407 industrialists and businessmen, showed that their average salary was 67 yuan, which was only 10 yuan higher than the average salary

of people like me in my profession. If we compare their average salary with that of their peer groups, the apparel industry in Huangpu District of Shanghai was 44 yuan higher, the lumbering plant in the northern suburbs of Beijing was 27.7 yuan higher, 17 bureaus in Guangzhou City had an average of 22.56 yuan higher, Dongfeng Market in Beijing was 19 yuan higher, Dongfanghong Supermarket in Jinan was 9 yuan higher, and the No 2 Textile Dyeing Mill in Yantai was 5 yuan higher.

Implementing the policy toward landlords, rich peasants, and capitalists is not just a question of dealing with them alone. There are still 6 million landlords and rich peasants and 500,000 capitalist industrialists and businessmen. These people have relatives and sons and daughters and, if we include the latter, we are actually dealing with a policy concerning tens of millions of people. Such a policy has an important bearing on mobilizing all positive factors, strengthening stability and unity, and advancing socialist construction. Since the beginning of this year, reports from many areas have shown that the landlords and rich peasants whose labels have been removed are grateful to the party and the government. They participate actively in labor and some have even exposed bad people and bad deeds. Cases of being cocky and attempting to take the opportunity to fight back are, on the whole, isolated incidents. In the course of removing the labels from landlords and rich peasants, the party Central Committee allows their sons and daughters to revise their status and allows the third generation to revise the class origin of their families. This policy has deeply moved the sons and daughters of the landlords and rich peasants. They feel they have been relieved from a great pressure. Their general outlook is one of "warm feelings about party Central Committee documents, hopes for the future, and zeal in realizing the Four Modernizations." Many work harder than before. Diligent in production, they study technology assiduously. The response of the capitalists in implementing this policy is also very strong. They are also grateful to the party. Some even request to be allowed to contribute a large share of their savings to build housing for the staff and workers of enterprises and to provide them with educational and welfare facilities. The People's Construction Committee and the Shanghai Association of Industry and Commerce have formally spearheaded a proposal to establish a "Shanghai Patriotic Commercial and Industrial Construction Company" in the hope that, consciously and voluntarily, surplus savings can be gathered in a practical way to benefit enterprises aiming at the Four Modernizations. They tentatively set a target of 5,000 yuan for the first phase. By the end of August, they had already collected over 4,630 yuan. Some capitalists who have expertise in technology are working hard to come up with innovations. Many are writing letters to their friends and relatives in Hong Kong and Macao and other places overseas in order to expand the impact of our country.

Implementation by our party of every item of this policy toward landlords, rich peasants, and capitalists is ultimately based on the interests of the working class and of the poor and lower-middle peasants.

Some comrades cannot understand this, and they suspect that such a policy "takes care of 5 percent of the people but disregards the other 95 percent." They feel a bit resentful. It is not right to think and feel this way. We should know that one of the basic tasks of our socialist revolution is to eliminate the exploitative class. This is the great historical mission of the proletariat. Only by liberating the entire human race can the proletariat liberate itself. In the previous revolutionary wars, we quickly educated the enemy soldiers as well as some low-ranking officers whom we had captured. They joined our army, turning their guns against the enemy, and hence our revolutionary strength continued to grow and our victory was accelerated. After liberation, we have converted to new men many war criminals, including feudal emperors. This had a great impact on the world. Over the years, the broad masses of workers, peasants, and revolutionary cadres have made a great effort to turn the overwhelming majority of landlords, rich peasants, and capitalists into self-reliant workers. We should say that this is an indelible and great historical achievement. We should be proud of it. Why then do we feel resentment? We based ourselves on the actual situation in removing labels from landlords and rich peasants and in implementing the policy toward capitalists. This is an indication of the disintegration of an exploitative class. This is conducive to changing negative factors into positive factors. It adds to our strength, promotes stability and unity, and advances the Four Modernizations; it benefits the party, country, and working people. How can we say that we are taking care of only 5 percent and are disregarding 95 percent of the people? We need to learn to view the situation as a whole and to "reckon big accounts." We should not lose sight of the forest because of the trees. We must have the broad-mindedness of the proletariat in liberating the whole human race.

9471

CSO: 4005

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'RENMIN RIBAO' NOTES AID TO MINORITY NATIONALITIES

OW150926 Beijing XINHUA in English 0712 GMT 15 Nov 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, 15 Nov (XINHUA)--Chengdu and Chongqing, two cities in Sichuan Province, have since the beginning of last year helped two Tibetan autonomous prefectures by supplying them with rolled steel, machinery, construction materials, chemicals and manpower, according to a report in today's PEOPLE'S DAILY.

Aba and Ganzi Prefectures were having difficulties with quality of products and some enterprises were not profitable. A cement factory in Chongqing sent people to aid a counterpart in Ganzi Prefecture. Quality was raised and production reached a record level this year.

People from the two cities were sent to improve equipment and technological processes in two match factories and brought quality of the products up to state standards. City technicians also helped build cold storage warehouses. The two cities have in the past year trained 400 technicians, 200 for each prefecture.

People of the Hui and Mongolian nationalities living in Liaoning Province, northeast China, have been given allowances and subsidies to improve their livelihood and boost production.

The paper says in an accompanying commentary that China has more than 50 minority nationalities and some 10 million people do not live in compact communities.

Policies and measures relating to the work of the national minorities must be carried out fully. "We must resolutely stop such practices as forcing the Hui (Islamic) people to raise pigs, and encourage them to raise sheep and cattle," the paper says.

"Their way of life, religious beliefs and customs and habits must be respected and no one may interfere with these.

"Those who discriminate against and sabotage national unity must be dealt with."

END

106

B1 - CONTROL NUMBER: U056005
 B4 - ACCESSION NUMBER:JPRS-74800
 B3 - COLLECTION CODE: 3
 B6 - MANAGEMENT CODE: XT
 B7 - PROCESS ACTNG CD: 01 B7A-REGISTRATION FEE: 00000
 B8 - PRODUCT MANAGER: H B9A-LOAN DUE OUT:
 B9 - RECEIPT TYPE: 1 B10A-DUPE/PRIOR/SUPER:
 B10- TRANSACTION: TN B12A-RETURN DATE:
 B12- RETURNS: 0
 B13- PROCESSING: 1
 B14- PAT. POTENTIAL: 0
 B17- FORM/PRICE: 12002 ,
 B18- ANNOUNCE: 0000
 B19- PUBLICATION-1: u8008 B20- PUBLICATION-2:
 B21- LIMITATION: 0
 B23- PC BIN: 000
 B24- STOCK: 0019 B24A-STOCK TYPE CODES: D
 B25- PAGES/SHEETS: 00113
 B26- PC PRICE CODE: A06
 B27- DOMESTIC PRICE: 0000000 B28- FOREIGN PRICE: 0000000
 B29- ACTION CODES: SS
 B33- MN PRICE CODE: X00
 B34- DOMESTIC PRICE: 0000000 B35- FOREIGN PRICE: 0000000
 B36- ACTION CODES: XM
 B37- RELEASABILITY CD: A
 B38- MF PRINT: D
 B39- ADDITIONAL INFO: n
 B40- PRINT PC: n
 B41- PC DUE: n
 B42- SOURCE ORDER: n
 B42A-GENERATE RDP: 0
 B42B-SUPPLIER SRC CD:

06)Translations on China Report: Po
 litical, Sociological and Military Af
 fairs, No. 43.¢
 11)20 Dec 79,¢



END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

6 May 1980
D.D.